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PROMINENT ECONOMIST DISCUSSES ECONOMIC INTEGRATION ISSUES

Beirut AL-IQTISAD WA AL-A'MAL in Arabic Jul-Aug 86 pp 69-70

/Article by Dr 'Abd-al-'Al al-Sakban: "The Arab Governments Remember Their Sovereignty When They Deal with Integration Organizations"/

/Text/ Dr 'Abd-al-'Al al-Sakban is a well known Arab economist in the Arab context and in the international one, in his capacity as founder and secretary general of the Federation of Arab Economists and as a result of his assumption of the secretariat general of the Council of Arab Economic Unity for a number of years.

AL-IQTISAD WA AL-A'MAL posed a question fraught with implication to al-Sakban: Where do the Arabs stand on economic integration?

There were the following observations.

The world of today is the world of blocs. A single country must be connected and integrated with others. But integration with whom? Is it with a hostile party or with a brother and fellow in nationality and proximity?

Let us go back a little. We find that integration was imposed by the colonial countries on the colonized ones at some point. The international economic system soon brought another form of integration to the fore, especially when the countries of the third world acquired their independence; this was integration between the center and the periphery, where progress is achieved in the center and backwardness on the periphery. This is all integration, but it is an evil and unhealthy integration.

Integration began with life; the more a society developed the more it found itself in need to be integrated, with other societies. Germany and France spent a long time waging war on one another; at the end of the fifties the two countries decided to form the nucleus of the European Common Market. This is the inevitable course of development in all areas of life. Stagnant countries which reject integration with other countries, especially neighboring ones, have impeded development, and it has become apparent with time that the credit for European economic and political integration, the disposition of production surpluses and the advancement of the free economic system goes to the Common Market.

The fact is that Arab experts have realized the importance of economic integration through the Arab League organizations since the forties and fifties (that is, before the Europeans), since they considered that the attainment of sound construction and growth would take place only through integration. The Arab countries lacked the political will and the seriousness as well to continue on the road.

### The Echo of Unity

At the start of the fragmentation which we are familiar with today, the Egyptian people held their revolution in 1919 and the revolution found its echo in Iraq, the Levant, Algeria and Morocco. This echo was not a form of coincidence or the coincidental meeting of minds. Rather, it was a sort of direct or indirect feeling of the existence of common interests, not to say the feeling of a common affiliation. A number of ideas were propounded at that time to establish a single Arab country, and the Sharif of Mecca, Husayn Ibn 'Ali, received a promise from allies, specifically Britain, of Arab unity, on the basis of which the Arabs rose up against the Turks. When they reached the point of realizing the dream, they were surprised by a colonialist onslaught launched by Britain and France and international agreements to fragment their territories. Arab unity was, and continues to be, a forbidden thing.

However, appeals for unity continued to arise, remaining weaker than the fragmented state of affairs, because the great powers have managed to impose an equation of fragmentation which has guaranteed the protection of their interests.

When World War Two ended, the need for a sort of unity appeared, and there was the appeal to establish the Arab League. Some people might imagine that the idea of the league came from London, but this is wrong. All Britain did was support the establishment of a league of Arab states. In fact, the appeal to establish the league succeeded because Egypt played the main part in it from the beginning, proceeding from the premise that the Arabs' safety lay in their unity. With the passage of time the seven entities out of which the Arab League was constituted turned into 22, and there are people who call for the addition of a 23rd entity, meaning the republic of the Sahara, philosophize about fragmentation and prefer it to unity.

### The Role of Oil

After the June 1967 setback, it became apparent that the issue of Arab economic integration was coming to the fore again. It is true that it is political will which determines integration, and even the details regarding it. Therefore, we can say that the options are ones of political will, and not purely socioeconomic ones. What supports this statement is that as soon as the first Arab victory was realized in 1973, the slogan "Arab oil for the Arabs," which some people had laughed at, was realized, and Arab oil, over which purely Arab will prevailed, played an important role in the struggle.

When fragmentation returned, the oil peace weakened to the point where it disappeared. More loathesome than that, it has today become a cause of our sufferings.

There then occurred the Gulf war and the deterioration in oil which followed that. The Arabs resumed buying arms from Britain, the proponent of the Balfour declaration, which had broken its promise to the Arabs.

I said in a lecture I gave in 1975 that oil was revenge against the Arabs and an element for fragmentation, not an element for integration. Oil diverted the Arabs' attention from unity, to the point where if its torch faltered slightly the oil people would discover that they were poor. They ought to have worked at maximum capacity to realize integration; if they had, we would have seen self-sustaining Arab countries with great, diversified economies.

Now, I see only subordination, which free peoples fight against. We have started better to understand the copious efforts the nonaligned countries made during the fifties and sixties to form a bloc against political and economic subordination.

Where Do We Stand?

There are many international and regional economic blocs, the most prominent of which are the European Common Market, Comecon, the Organization of Cooperation and Development, the bloc of Southeast Asia and the bloc of Latin American countries. There are many dialogues--the north-south dialogue, the north-north dialogue, the east-west dialogue, and so forth. The question is, where do we stand regarding these blocs and in these dialogues? The answer is simple:

In order to be a member of the automobile producers' club, you have to produce automobiles. To be explicit, we must be an integrated, cohesive producing group. Will we start with a comprehensive plan, though, or will we start with projects? We embarked on the experiment of joint Arab projects, beginning in 1973, and the experiment registered some success, since it was aimed at a platform of production and development through joint Arab projects and specific federations of existing Arab industries. The philosophy on which we relied held that as long as the Arabs were prepared to offer their money for the sake of common development, it would not be a bad idea for some of it to be absorbed on behalf of Arab development. The surpluses in 1976 were about \$20 billion. Nonetheless, Egypt, which needed a billion units to carry out its investment projects, did not meet with a response at the proper time and the matter was restricted to appeals for well-being and slogans. Then a Gulf development fund was established to help Egypt with capital totalling \$2 billion; then the fund was abrogated after it had given some aid.



## Sensitivity about "Sovereignty"

There is another intractable problem, which is sensitivity about and adherence to sovereignty. If we adopt comprehensive planning, we will come up against the problems of "sovereignty and independence." Some countries refuse to confine themselves to general Arab planning, out of concern for their "freedom and independence," while we do not find any trace of this freedom and sovereignty in the Arab countries' interaction with the outer world. When the Arab Monetary Fund asks for information about Arab countries' conditions, it meets with hostility on some occasions, but when the International Monetary Fund asks it, the answer usually is, "your wish is our command." Thus the Arab Monetary Fund is compelled to ask the International Monetary Fund to supply it with information about Arab countries. I do not need to emphasize that the directors of the fund include people who represent Israel.

What has also happened on the Arab stage has been the shift of Arab organizations from Egypt since 1979. These organizations needed 2 or more years to become stabilized. Some people had imagined that Egypt just consisted of headquarters, without realizing that it was also a source of minds; thus, administering these organizations outside Egypt became expensive, joint Arab ability was attenuated and the situation became worse when the Gulf war broke out, then when the oil prices collapsed and Lebanon and the Palestinian resistance were torn apart. It was as if the Arabs were foreordained to come out of one war of attrition in order to enter into another one, with the concomitant fragmentation, dissipation and schisms, until the situation brought us to the point of asking if a given person was a nationalist or a Moslem. Imagine!

## The Time for Action Has Come

The time has come to enter into a serious development experiment which will provide the Arab economies, especially the economies of the oil-producing countries, with diversification and self-reliance. The time has come for us to abandon our regionalism and come together in great Arab action, in a great, broad market. This is because regional action is responsible for the crises that are afflicting us now. However, I admit that the regional spirit is strong; it is like a sea-monster. The proof of that is that the results of the experience of Gulf economic unity are less than what was expected. In spite of the many benefits the Gulf countries share, we do not see, for economic unity, or a common development plan, or a single airline company. Likewise, the Nile Valley experiment has failed, and other experiments will fail unless we realize that economic unity requires notions devoid of selfishness and the transcending of regionalism, in addition to farsightedness.

With respect to Egypt, I consider, with reservations, that its crisis is no worse or more complex than that of any other Arab country.

Let me also add, repeatedly, that direct Arab investments in the Arab countries are estimated at about \$10 billion and are embodied in 304 projects. A study the Arab Organization to Guarantee Investments carried out in 1985 said, when it announced its conclusions last April, that Egypt was first in terms of its attraction of Arab investments, and stated that some of the basic elements which made Egypt preferable to Arab investors were stability, freedom to remit profits and capital, customs and tax incentives, ease of transactions, suitable returns on investment, knowledge and stability of investment laws and the presence of basic structures.

Dr 'Abd-al-'Al al-Sakban described the Egyptian government's decision to permit Arabs and foreigners to own real estate and land without the agreement of the council of ministers as a good one but criticized the conditions included in it, among them that the minimum price per meter should be \$500 and the dollar calculated at 136 piasters, so that the minimum would be 680 pounds, a price that involves much inflation and in addition encourages buyers and sellers to act fraudulently with respect to the law. I wonder what the wisdom of such a condition is.

I have evidence of history to testify that the Arabs turn toward unity when they reach the peak of fragmentation and when foreign and domestic economic, social and political challenges reach the danger stage. They have advanced when they were challenged and created empire. In the context of the oil crisis, there is no way to avoid solidarity, the formation of a bloc, common action and integration.

11887

CSO: 4404/511

EFFECT OF NONPAYMENT OF DUES ON ARAB LEAGUE CONSIDERED

Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic 16 Aug 86 pp 18, 19

/Article by 'Abd-al-Karim Abu al-Nasr: "Who Wants To Shut down the League of Arab States?"/

/Text/ Only five Arab countries paid their commitments to the league in 1986, and more than one Arab country has not paid its share for 3 or 4 years. If the situation continues in this way, the deficit in the Arab organization's budget will compel it to close its doors.

Have the Arab countries, or a majority of them, taken an actual or implicit decision which calls for closing the League of Arab States or at least for not deforming any perceptible movement to prevent the disappearance of the Arab League?

Have these countries decided to relinquish the symbol of common Arab activity? Has a state of despair and fragmentation brought them to the point where they no longer want, or are able, to bear the continued presence of the symbol of Arab solidarity and unity of Arab ranks?

Will 1986 be the year of the declaration of the death of the Arab League--this body to which a major Arab official gives the name "the home of the Arabs?"

Will some Arab countries, proceeding from this, respond to Egypt's advice to abandon the Arab League and replace it with blocs, groups or regional organizations?

We raise these questions because the Arab League is now facing the worst financial crisis in its history and because it is seriously threatened, for the first time since its establishment in 1945, with a reduction in its role and activity, up to the point when its doors could be closed. With its disappearance, one of the most prominent symbols of what is called "the unity of Arab ranks" will disappear.

Let us begin, first of all, by studying the truth about this financial crisis.



Since its establishment in 1945, then its transfer, by Arab decree, to Tunisia following the signing of the Egyptian-Israeli Camp David treaty, the Arab League has not confronted a financial problem of such severity and danger. More important than that, it has not confronted such Arab indifference vis-a-vis the League's fate as is the situation now.

The Arab League's annual budget comes to about \$30 million: yes, just 30 million dollars a year. Nonetheless, the Arab countries paid only 50 percent of their annual financial commitments toward the league in 1985. As for 1986, the situation reached the point where the Arab countries paid just 30 percent of their annual financial commitments--that is, a deficit of 70 percent exists in the league's budget. More explicitly, there are just five Arab countries which have paid their commitments in full to the league in 1986; these countries include the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Djibouti. Conversely, more than half the member countries have paid nothing this year, while three or four countries have paid part of their financial commitments. More than one Arab country has not paid its share to the league for 3 or 4 years. Some offer justifications for not paying and say that they suffer from serious economic difficulties, others give no justification, and yet others, such as Jordan, for instance, say that they will not pay their financial commitments until all countries meet their commitments and pay their shares of the league budget. If the situation continues in this way, the budget deficit will increase and the Arab League might be compelled to close its doors.

What has Chedli Klibi, the secretary general of the league, done to confront this crisis and save the "house of the Arabs?"

The fact is that Klibi has found himself faced with a situation of extreme delicacy and sensitivity. On the one hand, he cannot save the Arab league "by force," and on the other he does not want to embarrass any Arab country. He also wants to avoid taking any steps or decisions which will in effect make the Arabs seem more fragmented and divided than they are. Therefore, Klibi has held no press conferences or given any interviews or statements in which he might address himself to the crisis of the Arab League, by so much as a word. Indeed, he has preferred to follow another style, out of conformity on his part with his responsibilities and respect for his position as Arab League secretary.

During the past few months, Klibi has sent a number of letters and dozens of cables to leaders of Arab countries and heads of governments and Arab foreign ministers. He has also held an additional number of telephone conversations with senior Arab officials. In these contacts and letters, Klibi has stated the truth of the Arab League's situation and the reasons for its financial crisis and has asked everyone to honor his financial commitments so that the league will continue with its work and activity. However, in spite of that, only 30 percent of the league's budget for this year has been paid.

At this point the secretary general has decided to confront the Arab officials, speak frankly with them face to face and present them with their responsibilities in the coming meeting of the Arab foreign ministers to be held in the league's headquarters in Tunis the middle of next September.

I do not know whether Klibi will pose the following question to the Arab ministers in a direct form:

Do you want the Arab League to survive and continue to perform its role, or would you prefer that it close its doors?

I do not know if the secretary general will pose this sort of question frankly and in direct form, but it is most likely that the substance of his discussion with the Arab ministers will be under the inspiration of this question. The countdown for this conference has started now. The Arab foreign ministers will bring specific guidelines and instructions from their governments concerning the commitments of all the member countries toward the league with themselves. It is not to be ruled out that Klibi will make an Arab tour in this context. If all the Arab countries want the league to survive, they will have to fulfil their financial commitments, and if there are people who prefer that the league should close its doors, the foreign ministers' conference will be an occasion for announcing that!

Of course, officials in the league's secretariat general have prepared a series of proposals and recommendations concerned with reducing expenses to the maximum. One of these proposals is to close a number of league offices in the world, dismiss a specific percentage of employees or people contracting with the league and suspend or freeze a number of projects and plans the league had intended to carry out in the Arab and international contexts.

#### **\$30 Million for the Arabs' Home**

However, reducing expenses is not the solution, since that would lead to a diminution in the league's role and the magnitude of its activity, especially in the international arena. The real issue is not one of reducing expenses or diminishing the league's activities, and does not arise from all the Arab countries' "inability" to provide \$30 million a year so that the league can survive. The real issue is not that observations or reservations exist on the part of some countries concerning the activity the league is carrying out or the league's method of operating, either. The basic issue can be summarized by the following questions:

Do the Arabs want to preserve a minimum of Arab solidarity and unity of positions, which is what the league expresses, or do they want to abandon even this minimum? What will become of joint Arab action if the league closes its doors? Who will organize this joint action and institutions for joint action?

A prominent Arab official who is concerned for more than one reason over the league issue summarized the situation for AL-MUSTAQBAL and said, "While the need for an Arab national institution was an expression of the will for cooperation, integration and unification in 1945, when the league was founded, the need for this institution, in the era of big powers, political blocs, defense alliances and economic common markets is an expression of the will to survive and the determination to ward off risks which threaten every Arab country and every Arab people without exception. The presence of the Arabs' civilization, their control of challenges and risks and their fraternal and prosperous coexistence are contingent on their unity of statement and their coordination of activity. The basic goal behind the establishment of the Arab League was to realize unity of statement and coordination of activity. It has been said of the league, truly, that it is the home of the Arabs. They meet, converse, agree, disagree and plan for their present and future in it. Some people might level criticism at the League of Arab States and at joint Arab action, which is natural, indeed acceptable and desirable, because the league belongs to the Arab nation and the countries in it and because a group of Arab countries join in solidarity to carry out joint Arab action. However, that is one thing; declaring total despair over the league and joint Arab action is something else."

This Arab official added, "When the Arab League secretary general makes tours of Western and Eastern Europe, in the African continent and in the United States, meets leaders and senior officials and explains the truth of the Arab situation and Arab positions on various issues to them, he is addressing them not from a premise of defending a special cause but in his capacity as the voice of the Arabs and a symbol of their unity of statement and position. Have we reached a stage where some Arabs no longer can tolerate the mere presence of a symbol of their unity? Is \$30 million a large or fantastic amount for preserving the Arabs' home?"

#### **Egypt Wants To Close the League!**

Are there, then, Arab countries which consider that the time has come to close the Arab league's doors?

The fact is that the "crisis" the league is suffering from is occurring at approximately the same time as the escalation of the Egyptian official and media campaign against the league, a campaign proceeding from the premise that the Arab League has 'outlived its purpose' and there no longer is any justification for its existence. Of course, Egyptian officials do not forget the Arabs' decision to move the league headquarters from Cairo to Tunis after the signing of the Egyptian-Israeli "peace treaty" and Egypt's departure from Arab ranks, but the question has gone beyond defamation and the desire for revenge to the point of clear and official discussion of a specific Egyptian effort to replace the Arab League with regional organizations or blocs so that a group of Arab countries can come together in each organization or bloc on the basis of geographical proximity. Dr 'Ismat 'Abd-al-Majid, the Egyptian foreign minister, referred clearly to this effort when he declared

at an official meeting in Cairo last month, "Egypt is now making contacts with seven Arab countries to establish regional Arab organizations or regional blocs in place of the Arab League."

The Secretariat General of the Arab League challenged this Egyptian campaign and recently sent the Arab countries letters warning of the danger of this Egyptian effort, which is threatening the future of joint Arab action, fragmenting the institutions for joint Arab action and consequently opening the doors of the region to the infiltration of Israeli influence.

Egyptian officials, in their contacts with some Arab bodies, are trying to indicate that there is a contradiction or conflict between the Arab Leagues existence and the establishment of regional blocs or organizations based on geographic proximity. In fact there is no contradiction. A high-level Arab source says, "The people advancing this claim want to exploit the establishment of regional Arab organizations with the goal of eliminating the league, while the Arab League charter has permitted the league countries which want to establish firmer cooperation and connections than the charter specifies to do so. Thus the league, since its establishment, has witnessed the establishment of federations, organizations and cooperation councils among a number of Arab countries, and there has been no contradiction or difference between them and the league as a comprehensive national organization; absolutely no such thing has ever happened."

Will the Arab League close its doors? The answer will come after the Arab foreign ministers' meeting next 15 September in Tunis.

11887

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MUSLIM CLERICS' VIEWS ON MAKING PEACE WITH ISRAEL REVIEWED

Kuwait AL-MUJTAMA' in Arabic 28 Jul 86 pp 17-19

[Article: "The Canonical Law of Islam Prohibits Making Peace with the Jewish Enemy"]

[Text] Al-Azhar Scholars: "Making peace with Israel is legally impermissible because it would acknowledge and perpetuate an act of usurpation."

Islamic Conference Scholars: "Making peace would acknowledge an act of usurpation and recognize a usurper's right to hold on to what he seized illegally. Therefore, Muslims may not make peace with Jews."

Scholars of the Muslim nation are not sanctioning cooperation with countries which are helping that unjust group of people and making it possible for them to stay in Muslims' countries.

Fatwa committees are calling upon all Muslims to cling to their firm faith in God and to pursue a course of action that will realize their sense of honor and dignity.

On the occasion of Mr Shimon Peres's visit to the king of Morocco AL-MUJTAMA' is publishing the texts of formal legal opinions which show what the canonical law of Islam has to say about making peace with the Jews. The prime minister of the Jewish enemy's government is visiting the king of Morocco in the context of efforts that are being made for a so-called solution to the Middle East crisis.

Al-Azhar's Formal Religious Opinion:

Al-Azhar's Fatwa Committee issued a formal religious opinion on 1 Jan 1956 forbidding peace with the Jews who illegally siezed Palestine. Those who took part in writing this formal religious opinion were:

1. Al-Shaykh Hasanayn Muhammad Makhluf, chairman of the Fatwa Committee, member of the Society of Senior Scholars and the former Mufti of Egypt.
2. Al-Shaykh 'Isa Manun, member of the Fatwa Committee, member of the Society of Senior Scholars and former dean of the College of the Canonical Law of Islam. Al-Shaykh 'Isa Manun follows the Shafi'ite school of jurisprudence.

3. Al-Shaykh Mahmud Shaltut, member of the Fatwa Committee and the Society of Senior Scholars. Al-Shaykh Shaltut follows the Hanafite school of jurisprudence.
4. Al-Shaykh Muhammad al-Tanikhi, member of the Fatwa Committee, member of the Society of Senior Scholars and director of spiritual counsel and guidance. Al-Shaykh al-Tanikhi follows the Malikite school of jurisprudence.
5. Al-Shaykh Muhammad 'Abd-al-Latif al-Subki, member of the Fatwa Committee, member of the Society of Senior Scholars and director of inspection in al-Azhar. Al-Shaykh al-Subki follows the Hanbalite school of jurisprudence.
6. Al-Shaykh Zakariya al-Barri, secretary of the Fatwa Committee.

This formal religious opinion was issued in response to legitimate questions which a few scholars at the distinguished institution, al-Azhar, posed to Muslim scholars of all schools of jurisprudence. These questions had to do with what Muslims should do about the Palestine question and the consequences of the Palestine disaster. They were questions that had to do with the Islamic position toward the Zionist entity and the colonialist countries that are supporting it, and they had to do with the idea of "making peace" with that entity.

We cite below a summary of the response provided by the Fatwa Committee to these questions.

"Now then, the Fatwa Committee in the distinguished al-Azhar examined the request which was submitted to it to issue a formal religious opinion showing what the canonical law of Islam had to say about making peace with Israel: that entity which illegally seized Palestine from its people. Israel drove the Palestinians out of their homes and made Palestinian women and children, the old as well as the young homeless. Israel stole their property, desecrated their places of worship and committed the most offensive deeds at their historical and sacred Islamic sites. The committee was also asked to issue a formal religious opinion on friendship and cooperation with imperialist countries which have been supporting Israel in its criminal aggression and providing it with political and material assistance. The committee was also asked to issue a formal religious opinion on the alliances which imperialist countries are calling for. Among their objectives these alliances are making it possible for Israel to stay in Palestine to implement imperialist policy....

"The committee advises that making peace with Israel--the peace which is being sought by those who are promoting it--is legally impermissible because it would acknowledge and perpetuate an act of usurpation. All divine and man-made laws agree that usurpation is impermissible and that what was seized illegally must be returned to its rightful owner. All divine and man-made laws have urged anyone with a legal claim to defend and demand his rights. The prophetic tradition tells us that 'Anyone who is killed defending his property is a martyr, and anyone who is killed defending his honor is a martyr.' Muslims may not make peace with those Jews who seized Palestinian land illegally and attacked the people and their property. Instead, all Muslims, regardless of their linguistic, color and racial differences, must cooperate to bring this land back to its people and to preserve al-Aqsa Mosque, the cradle of Islam. Al-Aqsa Mosque is



the place where the prophets worshiped, and the area around it has been blessed by God. All Muslims must cooperate to preserve and protect Islamic antiquities and sites from those usurpers. They must help those who are fighting with weapons; they must help all forces to fight for that cause; and they must do everything in their power to purge the land from the effects of those attacking tyrants....

"Cooperating with countries that support this tyrannical group of people and provide them with funds and ammunition, thereby making it possible for them to stay in this land is legally impermissible because such cooperation would help this group practice their tyranny, and it would support their hostile position toward Islam and Islamic lands. God Almighty said, 'But Allah forbids you to make friends with those who have fought against you on account of your religion and driven you from your homes or abetted others so to do. Those that make friends with them are wrongdoers' (al-Mumtahanah: 9).

"There is no doubt that endorsing enemies and being friendly with them--secretly and publicly, directly as well as indirectly--is tantamount to providing them with whatever would strengthen them and reinforce their opinions, ideas, weapons and force. All this is forbidden to a Muslim regardless of the excuses and justifications that may be conjured up. It follows then that these alliances with Islamic countries which imperialist countries are calling for and working hard to bring about constitute an effort to create strife and drive a wedge between these Islamic countries. That would enable imperialist countries to gain power in Islamic countries and continue carrying out their policies against Muslims in those countries. No Islamic country may go along with those alliances or take part in them because of the great danger they pose to Islamic countries and to Palestine in particular. What used to be Palestine was turned over to tyrannical Zionism by these imperialist countries so as to hurt Islam and Muslims. Imperialist countries wanted to establish their own state in the midst of Islamic countries so they could have someone to rely on when carrying out their imperialist aims and purposes which hurt Muslims.

"Muslims are also legally forbidden from making it possible for Israel and the imperialist countries that stand behind it to protect it and help it survive to carry out those plans whose sole purpose is to make the Jewish state prosper, live a comfortable and productive life and continue to exist as a state fighting the Arabs and Islam over territory they cherish most. Muslims must do everything in their power to prevent the implementation of those plans, and they must stand together to defend Islamic territory and to foil such malicious conspiracies, chief among which are those harmful projects. Anyone who fails to do this, anyone who helps in the implementation of these projects, or anyone who adopts a passive attitude in this matter is committing a great sin.

"Muslims have to follow the prophet's lead, may God bless him and grant him salvation. The prophet's attitude towards the people of Mecca and their tyranny sets a good example. The people of Mecca had forced the prophet and his companions--may God be pleased with them--out of their homes. They denied them access to their property, prevented them from performing their rites and desecrated the Ka'bah by worshiping idols and statues. God Almighty ordered the prophet to make preparations for saving the Ka'bah from those aggressors. God

Almighty said, 'Kill them wherever you find them. Drive them out of the places from which they drove you' (al-Baqarah: 191). God Almighty cautioned Muslims and advised them to return the attack. He said, 'If any one attacks you, attack him as he attacked you' (al-Baqarah: 194).

"Now then, this is Islam's pronouncement on the question of Palestine and on Israel and the imperialist and other countries that support it. This is Islam's pronouncement on the projects that are being sought by Israel and its supporters to improve Israel's standing. What Muslims have to do in this matter is spelled out by the Fatwa Committee of the distinguished al-Azhar. The committee is calling upon all Muslims to cling to their firm faith in God and to do what will realize their own dignity and respect. The committee is calling upon all Muslims to appreciate the consequences of weakness and submission in the face of evil aggressors and malicious conspirators. It is calling upon them to make a unanimous decision to do their duty to Almighty God and to future generations because in doing that they would be strengthening their True Religion.

"We ask Almighty God that He make all Muslims unshakable in their faith and in their resolve to champion His religion and to do what would please Him. God is all-knowing."

#### Al-Shaykh Hasan Ma'mun's Formal Religious Opinion

In 1956 al-Shaykh Hasan Ma'mun, the shaykh of al-Azhar Mosque, issued a formal religious opinion in response to a similar question. At that time al-Shaykh Ma'mun was the grand mufti of Egypt.

"In order to know what the canonical law of Islam has to say about making peace with the Jews in occupied Palestine without looking at the political aspect of the question, we must know what the canonical law of Islam has to say about an enemy's attack on any Muslim country. Is such an attack permissible, or is it impermissible? If it is not permissible, what must Muslims do about it?

"In the canonical law of Islam an attack on an Islamic country by an enemy is impermissible regardless of the reasons and causes. A Muslim country must be controlled by its people, and no one may attack it. There is no disagreement among Muslims about what citizens of any Islamic country have to do if their country is attacked: Muslims agree that force must be used to fight the enemy. God Almighty said, 'Muster against them all the men and cavalry at your disposal, so that you may strike terror into the enemies of Allah and the faithful...' (al-Anfal: 60). What the Jews did in Palestine was attack an Islamic country; therefore, the people of Palestine have to use force to respond to that attack. They must fight back until they can force the Jews out of the country and bring Palestine back into the fold of Islamic countries. This is the duty of each person. It is not one of those duties that some people are absolved from when others assume it and carry it out. Since all Islamic countries are considered countries for each Muslim, it is then the duty of all citizens of these countries to fight the enemy in case of an attack--those of the attacked country first and those residing in other countries second. Although their country may not have come under direct attack, they themselves were attacked because an Islamic country, which is part of the Islamic world, was.

"Now that we've defined what the canonical law of Islam has to say about attacking an Islamic country, we can determine what it has to say about making peace with the aggressor. Is it permissible or not?

"The answer to that question is this: if peace is based on returning to the people the land which was attacked, then it is permissible. But if peace is based on acknowledging and perpetuating the attack, then such a peace would be invalid and groundless because it would acknowledge a groundless attack. And anything that follows from a groundless action is, like that action, groundless and invalid.

"Theologians did permit a cessation of hostilities with the enemy or with a group of the enemy for a certain period of time if such a cessation of hostilities serves Muslims' interests. God Almighty said, 'If they incline to peace, make peace with them, and put your trust in Allah' [al-Anfal: 61]. Theologians said that although this verse contains no restrictions, they had all agreed that making peace with the enemy should be restricted by what would serve Muslims' interests. Theologians agreed to that restriction because of another verse in which God Almighty says, '...do not falter or sue for peace when you have gained the upper hand' (Muhammad: 35). All theologians agree that if a cessation of hostilities does not serve Muslims' interests, then it would not be permissible. We think that peace which does not involve returning to the Palestinians the territory that was usurped from them by the Jews and which would keep that territory under Jewish control serves only the interests of the Jews and not the interests of Muslims. Therefore, we do not sanction it from a legal standpoint unless there are conditions and restrictions attached which would realize Muslims' interests."

#### The Formal Religious Opinion of the Islamic Conference

When the International Islamic Conference was convened in Pakistan in February 1968, a group of Muslim scholars asked a question about the seizure by Zionists of al-Aqsa Mosque, Jerusalem, the rest of Palestine and some Arab territory. They asked for a legal Islamic judgment on making peace with Israel and recognizing it. The following formal religious opinion, which was signed by a large number of Muslim scholars and clerics from different Arab and Islamic countries, was issued.

The text of the formal religious opinion which addressed this question is [as follows]:

"In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate: praise be to God, the Master of Heaven and Earth. May the peace of God and His mercy be with His prophet and with the prophet's family and companions.

"Now then, we have examined the request which was submitted to us and which asked us what the canonical law of Islam had to say about making peace with those who usurped Palestine and some Egyptian and Syrian territory. Those usurpers drove Muslims in those territories out of their homes, and seized their property. They committed the most hideous evil deeds: they killed, plundered and tortured Muslims. They occupied Jerusalem and the sacred Islamic sites in that city. Chief among those sites is the Holy al-Aqsa Mosque, the first holy place

in Islam and the site of the Prophet's, may God bless him and grant him salvation, midnight journey and ascension to the seven heavens. They tore down a few Muslim sites, including mosques, schools and homes, all of which were held by religious trusts. They announced the grave schemes they had for al-Aqsa Mosque and they proceeded to dig under the mosque to pave the way for seizing it. They also announced the schemes they had for other holy places and sites.

"In response to that request we declare that making peace with those warmongers would be legally impermissible because it would acknowledge their act of usurpation and recognize their right to keep what they usurped. Therefore, Muslims may not make peace with those Jewish aggressors because making peace with them would enable them to survive as a state in this sacred Islamic territory. Instead, all Muslims must do everything in their power to liberate this country and to save al-Aqsa Mosque and all the places held sacred by Muslims from the hands of the usurpers. All Muslims must take up arms and fight to regain this territory from the usurpers. We call upon all Muslims to cling to their firm faith in God and to do what would achieve dignity and respect for Islam and Muslims."

This formal religious opinion was signed by scholars from various Arab and Islamic countries.

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## EFFECTS OF OIL MARKET SLUMP, GOVERNMENT MEASURES EXAMINED

Paris MACHREB MACHREK in French Apr-Jun 86 pp 94-100

[Article by N. Grimaud and J. Leca: "Algeria Facing the Oil Counter-Shock"]

[Text] One has to credit Algeria with not having waited for the return of the oil market in 1983 to prepare for the after-oil period. When President Chadli came to power in 1979, a review of the economic strategy applied for a decade led to a questioning of the excessive dependence on oil income. (Footnote 1) (See "Synthesis of the Economic and Social Balance-Sheet of the Decade 1967-1978." Algiers, Ministry of Planning and National Development. May 1980, 373 pp.) It is true that at the time this review was inspired by a fear of too rapid physical depletion of a nonrenewable resource, as abandonment of the Valhyd Plan of 1977 witnesses. (Footnote 2) (In regard to development of hydrocarbons, see Nicole Grimaud "Algeria's Foreign Policy." Paris, Karthala, 1984, p 331.) No one imagined then that the price of crude, whose per barrel price went on a climb from \$12 at the end of 1978 to \$40 in 1981, could perform--also in 3 years--a reverse trajectory and fall back in March 1986 to its level of December 1978.

Since that moment there have coexisted, and even sometimes confronted each other, two types of economic outlook. One pragmatic, which the herd of state champions, mainly oriented to efficiency. The other, trying to defend the previous management, fears that the proposed reforms may undermine the socialist options. One of the main points of disagreement concerns the potential dangers of the private sector effort that the state has undertaken to promote. The debate took a very lively turn on the occasion of revision of the 1976 Charter, which lasted through the fall of 1985. (See, for example, "The Socialism of the Breast" in ALGERIE-ACTUALITE, 10-15 October 1985, and the immediate response by the FLN, "The Clarion Call of the Dream Merchants," REVOLUTION AFRICAINE, 18-24 October 1985). Currently, the element hostile to a change in directions, an element that some describe as dogmatic, has not been eliminated, but gives the impression of fighting a rearguard action. In face of the necessity of grappling with the present oil crisis, will the camp in favor of opening and economic realism see its proposals win the day?

The broad lines of the reorientation were designed during a period of financial ease that was favorable to its implementation. Accompanying the deterioration in oil prices that became official in March 1983 was the

adoption of the slogan "Work and Austerity" by the FLN Fifth Congress.

The results for 1985 had been judged as very positive by Prime Minister Abdelhamid Brahimi, specifically with the creation of 158,000 jobs. In his annual report on the economic situation to the National People's Assembly in November 1985, Minister of Planning and National Development Ali Oubouzar was able, relying on data available at that time (prior to the final accounting for 1985), to display a degree of optimism: he said that oil earnings increased from 60.25 billion dinars (DA) (1 dinar = 1.5 French francs) (12.58 billion dollars) in 1983 to 62.79 billion DA (\$12.6 billion) in 1984, and this trend continued in 1985. He was confident in regard to the other aspects of the foreign situation, and affirmed that Algeria was continuing to meet its debt and reduce it (however, he gave no figure to support this assertion). He said it was expected that production other than oil would increase as a whole to 7 percent in 1985, more than the 6.6 percent originally expected. The main factor that had stimulated the GDP was without doubt the performance record of agriculture, with an increase of 30 percent after years of decline. It was also expected that industrial production would increase by 9 percent (12 percent for the public sector), which indicated better use of capabilities. More disappointing were the results for building and public works, a key sector for which the original expectation had been an 8-percent increase, and which would probably only reach 5 percent. Consumption should increase by 4.7 percent (slightly higher than the set target of 4.5 percent). Mr Oubouzar also predicted a real increase in purchasing power of 1 percent, with a wage increase of 13 percent, and inflation varying around 8.5 percent. (Footnote 3) (The Economist Intelligence Unit. Quarterly Economic Review of Algeria. No 1, 1986.)

For 1986, Mr Oubouzar predicted a GDP growth rate of 4.5 percent, but it would reach 6 percent for the non-oil part of the GDP, and even 9 percent for industry alone (11 percent for the public sector) and 4.5 percent for agriculture. However, he told LE MONDE a little later (5 December 1985) that he expected a drop of 10, 15 or even 20 percent in oil earnings, but believed the most likely hypothesis was a 10-percent decline. However, the decline in value of crude combined with that of the dollar in the first quarter of 1986 had made these hypotheses too optimistic. The cabinet meetings on 5 March 1986, noting the drop in the price per barrel to \$12 in New York, had the initial reaction of reaffirming the absolute necessity to protect the foreign balances, so as to avoid submitting to the IMF requirements.

In presenting the crisis to the public, EL MOUDJAHID (6 March 1986) promptly pointed out two responsible parties: the developed countries and Saudi Arabia. (Footnote 4) (On the recent disagreements between Algeria and Saudi Arabia, consult, for example, the cited issue of the QUARTERLY ECONOMIC REVIEW OF ALGERIA, p 16. Algeria, which has always supported the policy of quotas and high prices in OPEC, not without inconsistency sometimes, reportedly, at the same time that it was criticizing the Saudi attitude in favor of lowering prices, increased its sales in 1985, exceeding its quota established at 660,000 barrels per day, to produce about 700,000. The Saudi decision to increase its production (which became effective by OPEC's abandonment of quotas at its ministerial meeting of December 1985) was no less sharply criticized by Algeria. It appeared that OPEC, because of the Saudi decision,



could increase its share of the world oil market, but at the cost of a decline in total earnings of its members, to the sole benefit of the Western consumers. For this reason, the Saudi attitude was described as adventurous and damaging. In February 1986, Algeria, Iran and Libya agreed to decrease the official price of their barrel of oil (\$29.5 for Algeria) by \$4, since this price, still well above the spot market price, did not reflect the reality of the purchases.)

Under the significant headline "No to Diktat," this daily explained that the purpose of the maneuver was to "get Algeria in step, and stifle the will of its people by reducing them to a condition of begging for their simple survival..." An appeal to national pride was launched with the theme: "The developed countries have faced up to increase in price of energy; to preserve our independence, we will do as well as them."

Primarily interested in mobilizing, the Algerian press evades the problem of the collective responsibility of OPEC, too disunited to manage its oligopoly with strictness. (Footnote 5) (On this point see Nicole Grimaud: "OPEC: Difficult Implementation of the Monopoly," in L'AFRIQUE ET L'ASIE MODERNE No 141, spring 1984, pp 3-21.) In a different direction, and in a nonconformist style, ALGERIE-ACTUALITE's more lucid analysis deserves quoting at length.

#### An Earnings Failure Difficult To Put in Figures

The scope of the repercussions of this crisis is difficult to define with precision, since the two parameters, the dollar rate and the price per barrel, will not have found a stable level on which predictions are made.

In a speech on 8 March 1986 to the congress of the National Union of Algerian Women, citing the cumulative effects of these declines in value, the head of state announced a loss of earnings reaching 80 percent. This dramatization, no doubt deliberate in order to speed up awareness and mobilize energies, caused a shock and produced a genuine fear of the future among the citizens. This was reflected, at the daily level, by fear of a halt to imports that prompted food stockpiling, producing shortages.

Then, what was needed was to reassure, which was done by all methods. "This reduction of foreign exchange earnings does not mean that our country is in danger," affirmed the president himself a month later to the seventh congress of the Mujahedin, adding that the austerity measures would apply first at the party and state level, while neither the prices or quantities of imported food products would be affected. Presidential Instruction No 47 (EL MOUDJAHID, 2 April 1986) can be analyzed as an appeal for civic spirit, for "a resolute commitment of each in his work place, the only one capable of transforming the limitations into trumps for taking charge of the stakes of the future."

Minister of Finance Khellef also confirmed these orientations in presenting on 21 April a draft supplementary finance bill to the planning and finance committee of the APN adjusting the expenditure and revenue estimates to take into account the new declines in the cost per barrel and dollar rate. Still under the slogan of "Self-dependence" (EL MOUDJAHID, 22 April), he announced various measures intended to reduce purchases abroad (revision of the

investment program, imports from 48 to 38.5 billion DA, limitation of the tourist allowance, limitation of foreign technical aid, etc.), as well as an austerity program in respect to public expenditures, without, however, affecting support of prime necessity products, nor the tax facilities granted to promote certain sectors.

To understand this readjustment, let us recall that for the year 1985 oil accounted for more than 97 percent of all Algerian sales abroad, or 65.8 billion dirhams (about \$13 billion at an average of \$27 per barrel), while exports other than oil only totaled 1.6 billion DA. We should note, however, that crude represented no more than 26 percent of earnings, while the share of condensates, refined products and natural gas had progressively reached 24, 22 and 27 percent. The price of these products varies in parallel but not proportionally to that of crude.

The condensates are not controlled by OPEC, and their prices vary as a function of demand, in a market more favorable than for crude; they should thus show a less sharp decline.

#### Structure of Oil Earnings

|                             | In billions of dollars |             |
|-----------------------------|------------------------|-------------|
|                             | <u>1984</u>            | <u>1985</u> |
| Crude oil                   | 3.13                   | 3.31        |
| Condensates                 | 3.25                   | 3.06        |
| Refined products            | 2.81                   | 2.80        |
| LPG liquefied petroleum gas | 0.40                   | 0.45        |
| Gas                         | 2.92                   | 3.06        |

For gas, the prices were set by long-term contracts that provided for indexation based on a basket of crude oils. This formula no longer applies, since the OPEC "official price" no longer exists, and the absence of a floor price risks, in case of a strong decline in spot prices, putting Algerian gas at a price lower than its cost price.

Sonatrach and Gaz de France on 25 March 1986 concluded an agreement on an interim calculation formula that will result, effective 1 April 1986, in a decline estimated at 15 percent of the price, or about \$3.50 per million BTU (1 BTU = 29.5 cubic centimeters). This arrangement does not prejudice the official renegotiations planned for the second quarter of 1986. For their part, Italian (SNAM) and Belgian (Distrigaz) companies had already undertaken negotiations with their Algerian partner on developing a new system of indexation. Not having reached an agreement, they reportedly decided unilaterally (MMED, 10-16 May 1986) to lower the price of Algerian gas for the second quarter of 1986. The Belgian company, announcing a reduction of 35 percent, would pay \$2.50 per million BTU instead of the previous \$3.80. As for SNAM, it is believed that it would pay \$2 per million BTU for the gas from

the pipeline. (Footnote 6) (The Sonatrach-Gaz de France contract was not made public; the \$3.50 price per million BTU is provided by PETROLE ET GAZ ARABES No 410 of 16 April 1986. According to other sources such as PETROLEUM INTELLIGENCE WEEKLY, France and Spain will reportedly (after 1 April 1986) buy LPG at \$3.18 per million BTU, Belgium at \$2.3 (after 1 January 1986), and Italy pipeline gas at \$2 (after 1 January 1986.))

For 1986, envisaging a smaller decline in the price of gas, several scenarios can be advanced, ranging from total pessimism (regarding improbable effects) to tempered optimism, trusting in a recovery of rates in the middle of the year. According to estimates, with a price of \$12 per barrel, earnings would decrease by 35 percent, and at \$18 per barrel by 25 to 30 percent. In general, one can estimate the decline in investments (planned for 1986 by the initial finance bill as 107 billion DA) at about 15 percent.

To measure the effects of this counter-shock, it is useful to relate this evolution to the structure of Algerian gross domestic production, the balance of payments, and the current debt volume.

Gross Domestic Production (at market price)

|  | <u>1980</u><br>billion DA | <u>1984</u><br>billion DA | <u>1984</u><br>% total | <u>1985</u><br>% total | <u>1986*</u><br>% total |
|--|---------------------------|---------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|
| Agriculture  | 12.9                      | 18.7                      | 8.3                    | 9.7                    | 9.5                     |
| Industry (processing<br>& mechanical ind., etc)              | 16                        | 29.7                      | 13.2                   | 13.7                   | 15                      |
| Building and public<br>works (including oil<br>construction) | 20.2                      | 36.8                      | 16.3                   | 17                     | 18                      |
| Oil  | 51.2                      | 64.5                      | 28.6                   | 25.2                   | 26.4                    |
| Transport & communica.                                       | 7.7                       | 12.2                      | 5.4                    | 24.5                   | 26.1                    |
| Services   | 5.9                       | 9.5                       | 4.2                    |                        |                         |
| Trade  | 19                        | 32.1                      | 14.2                   |                        |                         |
| Other branches   | <u>10.8</u>               | <u>21.9</u>               | <u>9.7</u>             | <u>9.0</u>             | <u>5.0</u>              |
| Total  | 143.7                     | 225.4                     | 100                    | 100                    | 100                     |

\*The 1986 estimate had been based on the price of \$21.5 per barrel. The downward change results in decreasing the share of oil, and also expecting almost no real GDP growth.

Source: National Office of Statistics. Compiled by The Economic Intelligence Unit, EIU Regional Review, The Middle East and North Africa 1986, p 58 for 1984. La Documentation Francaise for 1985 and 1986.

Development of Main Items in Balance of Payments  
(in billions of dollars)

|                              | 1979  | 1980  | 1981  | 1982  | 1983  | 1984  | 1985 (e) | 1986 (p) |      |
|------------------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|----------|----------|------|
|                              |       |       |       |       |       |       |          | H1       | H2   |
| Exports                      | 9.48  | 13.65 | 14.11 | 13.51 | 12.74 | 12.79 | 12.5     | 9.5      | 7.8  |
| Imports                      | -7.81 | -9.60 | -10.9 | -9.89 | -9.52 | -9.24 | -9.4     | -8.5     | -8.0 |
| Trade balance                | 1.67  | 4.05  | 4.02  | 3.62  | 3.22  | 3.55  | 3.1      | 1.0      | -0.2 |
| Services & transfers balance | -3.30 | -3.80 | -3.93 | -3.80 | -3.31 | -3.48 | -3.3     | -3.0     | -2.8 |
| Current balance              | -1.63 | 0.25  | 0.09  | -0.18 | -0.09 | 0.07  | -0.2     | -2.0     | -3.0 |

Sources: IMF (IFS). 1985: estimates (e). 1986: forecasts (p: H1 with an average OPEC price per barrel of \$19. H2 with an OPEC average price per barrel of \$15.

Foreign Debt in 1983-1984 (1)  
(in millions of dollars and at end of period)

|                                   | 1983   | 1984   |
|-----------------------------------|--------|--------|
| OCDE Countries and Capital Market |        |        |
| Official development aid          | 270    | 257    |
| Nonbank commercial credits        | 7,882  | 7,920  |
| --of which long-term              | 6,360  | 6,765  |
| Guaranteed bank credits           | 3,101  | 3,635  |
| Other bank credits                | 5,264  | 5,154  |
| --of which long-term              | 3,972  | 4,244  |
| Other private credits             | 167    | 203    |
| Multilateral                      | 367    | 484    |
| Other Creditor Countries          | 873    | 738    |
| Total debt                        | 17,924 | 18,391 |

(1) In 1985, taking into account new loans acquired by Algeria this year, the foreign debt is generally estimated at \$20 billion.

| <u>Debt Service</u><br>(in billions of dollars) |             |             |             |             |             |             |
|---|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| <u>1983-84</u>                                  | <u>1985</u> | <u>1986</u> | <u>1987</u> | <u>1988</u> | <u>1989</u> | <u>1990</u> |
| 4.8   | 4.4         | 3.3         | 3.9         | 4.3         | 4.9         | 5.2         |

Source: Bank for International Settlements and IBRD. 1986-90: estimates. The drop in oil prices, by decreasing export earnings, may increase to a degree difficult to tolerate the ratio of the debt service to export earnings.

Role of Earnings from Oil Taxation in Algerian Budget Structure  
(in billions of current DA)

|                     | <u>1983</u> | <u>1984</u> | <u>1985</u> | <u>1986*</u> | <u>1986**</u> |
|---------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|---------------|
| <b>Revenues</b>     |             |             |             |              |               |
| Oil taxation        | 57.5        | 56.7        | 52          | 48           | 29            |
| Other resources     | <u>41.1</u> | <u>48.8</u> | <u>64.9</u> | <u>75</u>    | <u>61</u>     |
| <b>Total</b>        | 98.6        | 105.5       | 117.1       | 123          | 90            |
| <b>Expenditures</b> |             |             |             |              |               |
| Operation           | 50.4        | 59.7        | 64.1        | 67           | 59.9          |
| Equipment           | <u>48.2</u> | <u>46</u>   | <u>52.8</u> | <u>61</u>    | <u>45</u>     |
| <b>Total</b>        | 98.6        | 103.7       | 116.9       | 128          | 104.5         |
| <b>Balance</b>      | 0           | +1.8        | +0.2        | -5           | -14           |

Sources: 1983-1984-1985: EL MOUDJAHID; MARCHES TROPICAUX.

EIU Regional Review: The Middle East and North Africa 1986.

\*1986: Algerian finance bill.

\*\*1986: Supplementary finance bill of 22 April 1986, based on a price per barrel of \$17.5, while the first finance bill, according to diplomatic sources, was based on a price of \$24.

Note: According to other sources, the actual outcome of the 1985 budget was as follows:

Revenues: oil taxation: 44; other resources: 64.9.

Expenditures: operation: 55.8; equipment: 51.2.

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## LIBYA

### SUDANESE PAPER OFFERS REVOLUTION ANNIVERSARY CONGRATULATIONS

Khartoum SAWT AL-UMMAH in Arabic 31 Aug 86 pp 2, 3

[Article: "The First of September -- Tremendous Achievements on the Road of Progress"]

[Text] On the occasion of the 17th anniversary of the revolution of 1 September 1969, we are happy to offer these excerpts from the speech by our brother Col Mu'ammarr al-Qadhdhafi, which he gave on the 15th anniversary of this occasion:

The bridges of achievements:

If I can briefly review what we have achieved in the past 10 years, and in reality I was not intending to mention what we realized at every anniversary of the revolution and would not have mentioned what we have realized, but after 10 years we must mention what we have done because this is necessary, first, so that you will know the achievements and preserve them, so that you will defend them and so that you will have confidence in them and in the possibilities which have been realized in your country so that you will be able to benefit from them, seek their aid and defend them. We do not all know what has been achieved, and I will now mention it.

National Income Is Increasing Many Times over

In brief, the economic situation in Libya now, from the revolution to 1984, has increased Libya's national income 640 percent, that is, from 1 billion dinars in 1970 to 8 billion dinars in 1984. This proves continuous development in all economic activities and also means that there has been no economic loss; Libya's national income has increased and not been reduced, and consequently there has been no retrenchment. Rather, we have advanced in all areas -- oil, industry, agriculture and so forth.

This progress is not ordinary; rather, it is unusual as far as increases in income are concerned. Before the revolution production aside from oil was about 400 million dinars; production aside from oil has now come to 4 billion dinars. That is, oil production has not increased; what has increased since the revolution has been the price of oil. The oil reserves after the



revolution have also increased, and have become great. Consequently, production in industry, agriculture and other things besides oil has increased by 1,000 percent; this would have been considered an astonishing transformation in this period, had it been in a major country.

#### Increasing Per Capita Income

Libyan per capita income, which, when the revolution took place, was about 600 dinars per year, has now become more than 2,000 dinars -- that is, per capita income has increased 111 percent. That means that our production, in oil, industry and agriculture, has increased by a magnitude which no one can imagine.

Had national income not increased in this manner, we would not have been able to pave the big roads, own ships, airplanes and tanks, reclaim farms and build new towns, massive projects, heavy industries and hospitals. It increased many times over because the revolution changed the face of spending and the face of the whole country. While money had been directed toward consumption, stealing and usurpation and not been directed toward the land and the people, all resources are now being guided and transformed into public goals.

#### Massive Figures Regarding Spending

From 1970 to 1984, that is, since the time the revolution occurred, we have been spending 21 million every month on agriculture, 23 million a month on industry, 12 million a month on electricity, 24 million a month on housing and utilities, 17 million a month on communications and 7 million a month on education. This means that 20 billion have been spent in the past 15 years, that is, that we spent 114 million a month.

#### Tremendous Transformations in Agriculture

Every month we drilled 16 wells, that is, a rate of a well every 2 days, since the outbreak of the revolution, and the number of wells which have been drilled so far amounts to 3,000. Every month we planted 123,000 fruit trees, to the point where the number of such trees we have planted came to 22 million over 15 years.

Every month 130,000 forest trees have been planted, so that the forest trees we planted came to 239 million over 15 years.

Every month we have reclaimed 7,000 hectares of non-agricultural land and turned it into farmland, so that 1.25 million hectares have been reclaimed.

Every month 51 kilometers of farm roads have been paved and since the revolution occurred 9,000 kilometers have been paved. Every month 90 kilometers are being laid within farmlands, and the length of the roads paved within farmlands since the revolution took place has come to 16,000 kilometers.

#### In the Area of Industrialization

Every month we built a factory and a half, although we had determined to complete a factory each month, and the factories which have been built now

are 163 in number. In the area of electricity, we have installed 16 million megawatts of power, that is, 16 megawatts per month, so that that has amounted to about 3,000 megawatts in 15 years. In the high voltage lines (220 volts) we have erected 14 kilometers per month, so that we have managed to lay 2,550 kilometers of high voltage in the course of 180 months. As for the medium-high voltage lines (66 volts), a length of 23 kilometers was laid every month on top of the 14, and thus we have laid 75 kilometers of high and medium voltage every month, so that 4,150 kilometers of medium voltage have been laid.

#### In the Housing Sector

Every month we have built an average of 500 houses since the revolution took place, so that more than a quarter of a million houses have been built, specifically 256,000 housing units in 180 months.

#### In the Area of Communications

Every month we have paved 57 kilometers' worth of main roads and 51 kilometers of farm roads, alongside the public roads, for an average of 108 kilometers per month, so that the overall length of roads has totalled 20,000; for this there is no equivalent in the world, relative to population, since the ratio has come to 10 kilometers per 1,000 people, while we find the highest country in the world to be 2 kilometers per 1,000 people.

#### The Jamahiriyah Is Twice As Great As America

If we compare the roads that exist in the Jamahiriyah with those that exist in America relative to the population, we will find that the Jamahiriyah is twice as great as America. Citizens of the Jamahiriyah enjoy double the share of roads American citizens enjoy, twenty times what British citizens enjoy, double what the citizens of West Germany enjoy, five times what Danish citizens enjoy, seven times what the Czechoslovaks enjoy and 16 times what the Egyptians enjoy.

#### 1984 Is the Year of Giant Roads

That is, 1984 is to be considered the year of giant roads, since there is no equal in the world to the roads which have been paved in Libya relative to the population and even in length -- 20,000 kilometers in Libya while Sweden is just 12 kilometers.

#### This Is the Philosophy of the Revolution

These achievements have not been realized through ordinary activity; rather, they have been realized through revolutionary activity, since the other countries built their roads over a period of 500 years, while we have done this in just 180 months. This is the philosophy of the revolution, the explanation of the revolution and the value of the revolution. The revolution combines resources, shortens time and bends distances. Revolutions do not mean a change in regimes and the manipulation of people's destinies; these are coups, and for this reason we are instigating other peoples to revolution.

Britain, over its long life, managed to build just 12,000 kilometers of roads, while we in just 15 years have built 20,000 kilometers of roads; these are scientific figures and every one of us can see them.

#### Massive Achievements in a Short Period

This has led to self-sufficiency in only a number of things, but there are areas in which we have not realized 100 percent self-sufficiency. For example, wheat and barley; we have managed to acquire 66 percent of our needs, while we import 34 percent. With further effort, we must arrive at 100 percent, but our failure to arrive at that percent may be attributed to natural climatic causes, because of the absence of rivers or the availability of rain. However, our realization of this percentage is to be considered a giant act for this short period, and, with the doubling of efforts, we can arrive at self-sufficiency. However, natural elements, the rainfall, govern this.

With respect to fruit and vegetables, we have realized 100 percent self-sufficiency in this area. The subject of distribution is one of the responsibilities of the people's conferences and the people's committees. That is, we have realized self-sufficiency; as for poor distribution, that is up to you. The power is in your hands, because we are now producing 283,000 tons of fruit, which is equivalent to the value of local consumption.

#### Meat Production

As regards meat, we produce 60 percent of the meat locally; 40 percent comes from Bulgaria and other countries. It is possible to arrive at 100 percent sufficiency if we consider that fish, poultry and eggs, of which we have exported surplus quantities this year to some countries, constitute meat.

Guidance of meat imports is necessary in a way which will realize self-sufficiency and the failure to import from abroad, so that we will be able to save sums of money which will be invested in other productive areas.

In our milk production, we have arrived at approximately 45 percent of consumption. This is the quantity which reaches the plants and gathering stations. However, there are other quantities, those which do not reach the plants; these are considered uncomputed quantities, although if these quantities were calculated we could have realized self-sufficiency in milk and milk products. As regards honey, we have realized 100 percent self-sufficiency in that.

In the heavy industry sector, we have constructed 35 factories, most of which are based on oil industries and other chemicals aside from oil.

#### In the Heavy Industries

The methanol plant in Brega, from which fuel and additional products for aviation fuel, the lumber and oil protein industry and many other products are derived, requires other new plants for methanol, which is now being exported.

There is the ammonia plant for producing fertilizer and urea, which enters into the manufacture of nitrogenous fertilizer and constitutes part of the melamine (plastics) industry. There is another series of plants which can be erected to increase derivatives of these products, since clothes come from petroleum, along with bags, cups and so on. We can also establish other factories which rely on the petrochemical plants which have already been erected, but we will save additional money and exploit our factories' production in realizing self-sufficiency and exporting.

As for the cement plants, these are now producing 6.25 million tons, while the value of consumption comes to 4.5 million tons. That is, there is a surplus to requirements of more than 1.5 million tons and their export has been in accordance with the plan which was set out for these factories, which had the goal of exporting quantities of cement. Therefore we can dispense with the construction of the cement mills included in the plan for self-sufficiency in this commodity. As for the gypsum plants, these are enough for requirements and a search is being made for markets to which to export their surplus. The rubber plants export their production to Italy, Turkey, Britain, Iran and Nigeria. The caustic soda plant exports its production to the Soviet Union after local needs are met, the production of the table salt plant is exported to Bulgaria and it is searching for other export markets. The liquid chlorine plants are sufficient for local consumption, as are the asphalt plants and oil refineries.

With respect to the pipe mills, these cover 60 percent of local consumption. After the establishment of the plants related to the great man-made river, Libya will be the number one large pipe-producing country in the world and will have no peer.

The farm tractor factory produces from 3,000 to 5,000 tractors per year. The truck and trailer company produces about 4,000 trucks per year and 300 trailers a year. These new heavy industries are entering the country for the first time. They can be developed. The total number of heavy industrial plants is 35, and another chemical complex will be erected in Zuwarah, along with massive complexes in Ra's Lanuf. The iron and steel complex in Misuratah will be ready soon. All these massive petrochemical plants exist in the oil area in the Gulf of Sirt.

### Light Industries

In the area of light industries, 202 plants have been erected, 65 of which are for food processing, 37 for textile, clothes and leather industries, 12 for furniture and paper, 25 for chemical industries, 20 for construction materials and 33 for metal industries. Thus the total factories come to 20 [sic], which are administered by 38 companies.

### 220 Projects Costing 1.6 Billion Dinars

The projects which are ready to be inaugurated on this anniversary are 370 in number and their costs come to 1.6 billion dinars. They include education at various levels, social insurance, health, transportation, electricity, heavy industries, light industries and oil. That is, they include 53 new



factories in addition to the 202 factories which have been erected, and there are five heavy industrial plants which are ready to be opened, an oil plant, three electric stations, 137 projects in transportation, 68 projects in health, two projects in social insurance and nine projects in the area of university education, including four new faculties, that is, a new university.

#### 1,000 New Classrooms under Construction

In the other area of education, there are 1,000 new classrooms under construction.

In the area of light industries, there are six new food processing plants, two furniture and paper plants, two chemical plants, a cement mill and three metals plants under construction.

In addition, 31 projects in the area of food processing, 15 projects in textiles, 14 projects in chemical industries, five building materials projects and three metal industry projects will be developed, and thus the number of projects being developed comes to 68.

In the area of heavy industries, there are 12 factories under construction in the area of oil, gas, fertilizer and construction materials, one for iron and steel, nine assembly plants in series in Misuratah and one for cars, for a total of 16 heavy industry plants. I said that the total plants in the area of light industries under construction come to 82, the total plants under study and contract come to 119, and the number of plants under study and contract in the heavy industry sector comes to 37. Thus, the total plants under construction come to 89 and the total plants under study and contract come to 156. In the health sector there are 68 new health products costing 95 million dinars which will be opened now, and there are 100 projects in the area of education which are ready, whose cost comes to 163 million dinars.

#### Tremendous Achievements in the Area of Education

When the revolution occurred, the number of classrooms in primary schools came to 10,000, and they now total 30,000. The classrooms in preparatory education were 1,115, and they have now come to 9,000. The number of classrooms at the secondary level was 300, and they now total 2,000. The number of technical education classrooms came to 61, and they have now come to 700. The number of classrooms in male and female teachers' institutes came to 176, and they now come to 1,136.

When the revolution occurred, the number of students at the primary level was 300,000, and that has now come to three quarters of a million. The number of students in the preparatory level before the revolution was 36,000, and that has now come to a quarter million. That is, the number of students in the primary and preparatory levels has reached a million. They will all become an armed people whom it will be possible to introduce into the struggle.

The number of students in secondary education was 8,000, and that has now come to 68,000. The number of students in technical education was 1,400, and

that now totals 21,000. The number of male and female teachers in the primary stage was 110,000, and that has now come to 43,000. The number of teachers in the preparatory stages was 2,500, and that now totals 20,000. The number of teachers in the secondary stage was 800, and that has now come to 5,000. The number of teachers in technical education was 220, and that has now come to 1,600. The number of teachers in the male and female teachers' institutes was 500, and that has now come to 2,300.

Thus the number of teachers at the various levels of education has gone from 15,000 before the revolution to 73,000, which is a big development in education. At the same time, it is capital which you must preserve.

### Achievements for Health

In the health sector, before the revolution occurred there were 6,000 beds, and there are now 18,000, an increase of 12,000. We must not be happy with this figure, because hospitals are supposed not to be filled with people, since prevention is better than the cure, which means that the number of beds must be less.

It should be noted that there are banners bearing frightening figures on the hospitals under construction, and therefore they must not be so, since the number of people sleeping in hospitals is limited. People must be healthier, cured, leaving and not sleeping in hospitals.

### Combined Clinics

As to the combined clinics, before the revolution there was a single clinic, and now there are 18 combined clinics, the three health care centers before the revolution have gone to 90 centers and the 400 health care units to 700, while the tuberculosis centers were five and now come to 28.

### Eliminating Tuberculosis and Malaria

Before the revolution 32,000 Libyans were afflicted with tuberculosis. This disease, which has totally disappeared, has been eliminated. Malaria has also disappeared. The high rate of tuberculosis cases we read about before the revolution were among the elements which were remedied by revolution.

### Doctors and Nurses

The number of doctors before the revolution was 800, and they now number 25,300.

Before the revolution, there was one doctor for every 2,260 citizens, but now there is a doctor for every 750 citizens.

Doctors might not be distributed equally within the Jamahiriya, but this subject is the concern of the people's health committees. The number of members of the nursing corps in the Jamahiriya was 2,600 and that has risen to 14,000. The number of technicians and aides has risen from 400 to 3,000.

## Social Prosperity Does Not Mean Bringing in Forbidden Things

All Libyans can go to movies and exhibits and hold public celebrations in the squares. Social prosperity does not mean bringing in forbidden things and going back to the slave trade, because that is deviation and corruption which paralyzes our effectiveness and in addition is prohibited by religion, and the revolution has eliminated it.

Libyans can create public parks, clubs, esplanades, summer resorts and hotels. A large number of hotels and tourist villages have been established and large recreation areas have been built and are under construction.

## The Great 4,200-Kilometer Manmade River

Technical and hydrological studies which a number of specialized consulting bodies have carried out have established the existence of tremendous ground-water reservoirs in the desert areas of the south of the Jamahiriyah. In view of these desert areas' unfitness for agriculture, the concept has arisen of transporting water from within the arid desert to the agricultural and built-up areas extending along the coast of the Jamahiriyah by means of this giant project, which has been given the name of "the great manmade river project," which is an object of pride and badge of honor for the whole Arab nation, since 5.5 million cubic meters of water will be transported daily by means of it.

## The Water Sources

The studies a number of specialized international consulting bodies have carried out have proved that the al-Kufrah, al-Sarir, Tazirbu, Wadi al-Shati' and Jabal al-Hasawinah areas contain tremendous sources of fresh water under ground, since the al-Kufrah-al-Sarir-Tazirbu basin, which comes to 250,000 square kilometers in area, has water estimated at the volume flowing in the Nile River for a period of 200 years. The Murzuq-Jabal Hasawinah-Wadi al-Shati' basin, which is 720,000 square kilometers in area, contains a volume of groundwater no smaller than the al-Kufrah basin and is considered one of the most important groundwater basins in the Jamahiriyah.

## 800 Wells for Collecting Water

800 wells will be drilled in accordance with the plan set out for this. These have been apportioned as follows:

340 wells in the al-Sarir well field.

230 wells in the Tazirbu well field.

130 wells in the al-Kufrah well field.

200 wells in the al-Hasawinah and Wadi al-Shati' well field.

## The Economic and Social Feasibility of the Project

A. Farming 185,000 hectares of land with grain in the winter.

B. Farming 100,000 hectares of land with grain and fodder in the summer. The anticipated grain harvest is estimated at about 1 million tons a year.

C. Raising 3 million sheep.

D. Realizing self-sufficiency in grain and meat in the Jamahiriyah and exporting the surplus of it to fraternal Arab countries.

E. Providing the necessary water for industry and human consumption in the towns and villages along the coast.

F. Creating big job opportunities in the Jamahiriyah for developing the various existing agricultural and industrial projects and those which will be established in the future, when carried out.

There is no doubt that attainment of these goals will lead to important social transformations and a great resurgence of development in all areas of the country which will bring about prosperity and progress.

#### The Volume of Materials for the River

The volume of cement which will enter into the manufacture of the pipes will be enough to build a concrete highway between the Jamahiriyah and India.

The length of the metal (prestressed) wire entering into the construction of the pipes could go around the earth 55 times.

The weight of the concrete pipe used will come to 76 tons [sic] and will come to 7.5 meters [sic] in length, with a diameter of 4 meters and a thickness of 30 centimeters.

The quantities excavated will come to 10 times the volume excavated in the High Dam.

The volumes of gravel and sand used will come to three times that with which the Pyramid of Cheops was built.

The weight of the steel used in the manufacture has been estimated at 1 million tons.

The number of pipes used will come to a quarter of a million.

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## ECONOMIC SITUATION IN GAZA EXAMINED IN REPORT

London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic 8-12 Aug 86 pp 25-26

[Article: "The Strip Is Living Under the Line of Poverty and Unemployment"]

[Text] At the far end of the southern shore of the Gaza Strip, a number of one-story houses with barbed wire fences are located amidst the sand. On the oceanfront is a large gate with an English and Hebrew sign that says "Nahal Qutayf."

It was through this gate that Jewish settlers used to go out in their beach clothes carrying machineguns. A question about the reason for their presence in this Arab area receives totally different answers. While one may say "we are in our fathers' and forefathers' land," another says "believe me, we do not know for sure why we are here." The Israeli defense ministry, however, is well aware why it has dispatched these settlers. A ministry official regards the "Qutayf kibbutz" complex as a first line of defense against any Egyptian attacks. Another official believes that the purpose of settlement is to create realities on the ground that deem withdrawal from the Gaza Strip impossible.

In recent months, the Gaza Strip has drawn in scores of foreign reporters due to several factors, foremost of which was an American researcher's published report that Gaza is living under the line of poverty and that unemployment and bad economic conditions portend an imminent outburst. This researcher illustrated the rate of population increase and Israel's control over the territory. The second factor was an Israeli announcement by Prime Minister Shimon Peres about his government's readiness to implement autonomy in Gaza, while the third factor was the so-called al-Shawwa initiative offered by the deposed Gaza mayor, Hajj Rashad al-Shawwa, providing for Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territory which will then be turned over to the Arabs.

Besides these factors is another unannounced one having to do with a clear increase in the rate of military operations against the Israeli army and settlers in the Gaza Strip which have exceeded the 200 mark in the first half of the year.

This exclusive report portrays living and political conditions in the Gaza Strip.

When you go by car from occupied Jerusalem to Gaza along the 120-km road, you do not see any road signs pointing to Gaza before the last 20 miles. When you get close to the Gaza boundaries, you suddenly come upon cement roadblocks in the middle of the single road where Israeli soldiers and border guards armed with rifles and machineguns are deployed, giving you the feeling that you are entering a military zone. There you have to wait in a long line for a complicated car and personal inspection process, and you have to explain to the

soldiers the reason for your visit, the length of your stay and the people you plan to see.

After you are allowed to cross the military roadblocks, you are met by the Bayt Lahya township to the right where it is separated from the sea by a barbed-wire wall setting off an area Israeli authorities have set aside for settlers. On the road you see animal carts carrying watermelon, vegetables and clover while on the sides of the road are lines of vendors offering various kinds of citrus fruits, vegetables and other fruits.

### Echoing Voices

You proceed on your way for a few more kilometers where you pass by the fringes of Jabaliya camp with its narrow alleys swarming with children in wretched clothes. On the sides of the road you are drawn by small houses about 40 years old, mostly consisting of 2 or 3 rooms housing 5 to 6 persons. At the entrances of small shops a number of camp residents gather in what the shop owner has mockingly dubbed as the "morning meeting," to talk about the old days in Palestine, the "days of the Egyptians," then the occupation. One man has had his house blown up, another man's sons are in jail and a third's son has been deported while most of them are barred from travelling. We ask the assemblage about the conditions in the camp today and several voices answer "As you can see, we are in a prison which is closing in on us day by day. Not a single camp resident has escaped imprisonment and not one neighborhood is free of a demolished or closed house. Moreover, we are living under bad circumstances. There is no work, prices are high and the relief agency [UNRWA] has cut off most rations. The area is surrounded by barbed wire on all sides, even the oceanfront. Military patrols roam neighborhoods 24 hours a day and the only documentation we have is the UNRWA ration card, the Israeli identity card and land deeds in our destroyed villages. What we have to look forward to is an obscure future and an unknown destiny, especially in view of our disappointment and dashed hopes due to Arab divisiveness and fragmentation."

From Jabaliya we turn right on 'Umar al-Mukhtar Street that runs through the city of Gaza from the far east to the Mediterranean shore. There are hundreds of cars, thousands of citizens and hundreds of scared and wary trigger-happy Israeli soldiers ready to open fire at the first chance, with or without cause. Citizens move in all directions as though they are going in a circle and shop owners sit at their doors waiting for a valued customer. We ask shopkeeper Mahmud Abu Kafi, who owns a home appliance store, about business and he says "The crisis began 2 years ago when prices went up and so did unemployment and we lost most of our customers. Meanwhile tax rates have doubled. The only profitable business is foodstuffs and bakeries. Everything else is a losing proposition."

We proceeded on 'Umar al-Mukhtar Street until we came upon the Unknown Soldier Memorial, which the occupation forces destroyed in the June war, and then the governor's palace where the Egyptian governor resided from 1948 to 1967 and is now the headquarters of the occupation officers. The street runs all the way to the beach. On the right is the beach camp and on the left are the Israeli police building and another huge commercial building followed by the Gaza

welfare society offices headed by Hajj Rashad al-Shawwa, the deposed mayor of Gaza. The society offers services to Palestinian students and workers by facilitating travel to Jordan and Egypt.

#### Numerous Initiatives

The Gaza Strip has witnessed many initiatives, the first of which was in 1949 when an Israeli military commander proposed to Ben Gurion the occupation of the strip to embrace the 150,000 Palestinian refugees who had sought refuge there in an attempt to show that Israel had responded to pressure and contributed to the solution of the refugee problem by manifesting itself to public opinion as a "civilized and humane state!" This initiative failed for several reasons that cannot be mentioned now.

In 1967, UN Resolutions 242 and 338 were issued but they have not yet been implemented.

Throughout all these years, from 1949 to 1967 and up to the present time, Palestinian residents in Gaza have defied repressive occupation through armed and unarmed resistance with the refugee camps as the focal point of such resistance.

In the hope of eradicating the social address of the Palestinian cause and wiping out resistance in the Gaza Strip, Israel, in the mid-seventies, embarked on a special project calling for the destruction of all camps and the settlement of refugees in modern houses in special neighborhoods subject to around-the-clock military supervision. The refugees rejected this project unequivocally, subjecting themselves to imprisonment, repression and homelessness.

Then came the Camp David Accords and the autonomy plan which the Palestinian people rejected.

#### Al-Shawwa Initiative

A short time ago, Rashad al-Shawwa introduced a new initiative for solving the Gaza Strip question. We met with him at his office where he explained to us his point of view, as follows: "What I introduced was not a plan, but rather a set of ideas I put forth to American officials during my meeting with them a few months ago. My point of departure was that if America is demanding that the PLO recognize Resolution 242 with the aim of humiliating the Palestinians, we reject it. If America has something else in mind, let it begin with the first article by forcing it on everyone. It is the article that stipulates the inadmissibility of occupying other people's territory by force."

Al-Shawwa added: "Conditions in Gaza and the Bank augur a dark future should occupation continue. We are all working to collect taxes for the Israeli treasury. Our economy is ruined. Settlements are all over our land. Gaza Strip residents in particular do not have travel documents that enable them to travel to the Arab world. This set of circumstances prompted me to propose ideas which some called the al-Shawwa plan. The main objective is the return of the occupied territory (the Bank, Gaza and Golan) to Arab sovereignty so as

to freeze the situation and start looking, as Arabs, for a final solution by setting up a Palestinian or confederate state or any other solution the Arab world may contemplate."

About the plan's coinciding with the freezing of coordination between Jordan and the PLO, al-Shawwa says "the breakoff of coordination has harmed the Palestinian cause and has affected people's morale in the occupied territory. Actually, coincidence is not a factor for I departed from the occupied territory's reality and the loss of Arab solidarity. My aim was to unite Arab efforts around a specific goal which is to force Israel to withdraw from the occupied territory as a phased solution. If Arab consensus is achieved, this objective can be realized."

Asked about the parties to which he proposed these ideas and the resulting reactions, al-Shawwa said: "I met with Israeli officials at their request and they expressed an Israeli readiness for an immediate withdrawal from the Gaza Strip while keeping foreign affairs and security in Israeli hands. My reply was that we refuse to keep foreign affairs in Israeli hands. As for security, an agreement may be reached on arrangements acceptable to both sides, for we, as Arabs, need security more than Israel."

Al-Shawwa went on to say: "I discussed these ideas with President Husni Mubarak who expressed enthusiasm. I then carried them to King Husayn who promised to study them. I also got into a discussion with the PLO representative in Cairo. I believe that every loyal Arab must welcome this plan so that we may end the political deadlock and liberate the Bank, Gaza and Golan people from the Israeli nightmare."

Asked whether his plan represented a gradual implementation of Resolution 242 and a renunciation of the Palestinian state slogan, al-Shawwa said: "This is of no concern to me, especially since the current balance of power does not allow us more than that. If we as Arabs can reach a consensus on this point, namely Israeli withdrawal, we will attain worldwide support in the east and the west which will undermine Israel's diplomatic position and may help achieve this objective. Today, we are unable to achieve a Palestinian state or confederation. Therefore, what harm can be done in putting a stop to occupation measures?"

#### How Israel Views the Strip

Over a year ago, Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres put forward the idea of autonomy in Gaza and the Israeli Ministry of Health, Mordecai Ghor, raised the slogan "Gaza first" while party platforms, the Labor Party and RATS in particular, warned against "demographic perils" presented by the growing population in Gaza. Israeli newspapers often talk about the need to find a solution to the Gaza issue because of such "perils." They warn that the number of Arabs in Palestine will surpass that of the Jews in the next 20 years. The reasons that prompt the Hebrew state to work rapidly for a solution to the Gaza questions may be summed up as follows:

1. Population growth in Gaza, a growth matched by Israeli failure to attract no more than 2,000 Jews to live in Gaza despite massive facilities.



2. Gaza does not represent a strategic location, for Israel surrounds it on three sides.

3. Gaza's return to Egyptian authority, as is proposed today, turns the refugee problem into an Egyptian one.

4. Since 1967, Gaza has witnessed an active resistance movement that has compelled Israel to station a large number of its troops in its cities and camps. In the last 2 years, methods of military action against Israel has increased and tactics have become manifold. Hence a solution to the problem is bound to ease Israel's military and security burdens.

5. Gaza constitutes a market for Israeli consumer goods and a huge reservoir of cheap labor. So long as withdrawal stems from an agreement and not a military state, Israel will stipulate the retention of Arab workers in its factories and will demand trade preference for its goods in the Gaza market.

#### Khan Yunis

From Gaza we went to Khan Yunis a few kilometers away on the single main road surrounded on its left by a series of settlements and travelled by Israeli border guard patrols that watch cars and pedestrians. Although economic life in the city of Gaza is wretched, it is considered "prosperous" compared to the situation in Khan Yunis.

In this context, citizen Isma'il Abu Diqqah, proprietor of a large shoe store, says: "At first, our products were less expensive than Israeli products and we were in a better position to compete. A few months following the occupation, crushing restrictions were imposed on us through high taxes on raw materials, causing a slump in our production which became more costly and, therefore, more expensive than Israeli goods in the local market. Now we are sustaining a loss and many of us have shut down their workshops and factories. What is true of this branch is true of other branches as well."

Due to Israeli measures, a large number of factories have shut down while Israeli workshops have attracted 50,000 registered and about 30,000 unregistered workers. This means that 50 percent of the labor force is working in Israel, mostly in construction, sanitation and public services. In the southern part of the strip, at the international boundaries with Egypt, we entered the city of Rafah which is divided by barbed wire into Palestinian Rafah and Egyptian Rafah, thus dividing families and separating brothers. On both sides of the wire, people meet to talk to each other by shouting across the barrier while Israeli army eyes and camera stand watch. We passed through the streets of Rafah until we got to the labor union headquarters where we met with union member Subhi al-Muslim [al-Musallim-?] who had the following to say about labor conditions: "Arab factories do not have the capacity to absorb the growing number of workers the schools and universities are spewing out. This has forced us to work in Israel despite unfair practices and arbitrary conditions with which we have to contend. An Arab worker gets one-third the salary of an Israeli worker for the same work and he is deprived of all insurance while deductions are made from his wages for 'security' fees,

national insurance premiums and Israeli labor union fees, leaving for him the bare minimum."

The upshot is that Gaza is a market for Israeli consumer goods and a huge depository of cheap labor.

### Settlement

Out of 360,000 dunums that constitute the area of the Gaza Strip, farmers used to cultivate 180,000 prior to the occupation. Israeli military rule, however, enacted several martial laws and orders whereby farmers must obtain a permit to grow or to pull out any kind of plant as well as a permit for every liter of water they use to water their crops. Furthermore, the Gaza market has been flooded with Israeli agricultural products that compete with local production. Not long ago, other products from Israeli settlements on Arab land hit the Gaza market, bringing down the agricultural sector's rate of contribution to the GNP from 21 to 8 percent while the area of cultivated land dropped to only 100,000 dunums. Many farmers turned into workers in Israel.

In talking about agriculture, it must be pointed out that 50 percent of the land is planted with citrus fruits, or what Palestinians refer to as "the strip's olive tree." The citrus fruit industry has suffered setbacks, the most significant of which are the limitation of farm land, the ban on artesian well drilling and Israeli pressure on Europe to stop importing citrus fruits from Gaza, in addition to limited Arab imports through Jordan.

Gaza did not escape the Jewish settlement movement made easy by the occupation's expropriation of 100,000 dunums constituting the cultivated area. The Jewish Agency and the Labor Party kibbutz movement pledged to provide the settlements with money and manpower. Hence the number of settlements went up to 18 with 2,200 inhabitants. Compared to the number of settlers on the West Bank and Golan, this number seems small but the benefits they receive and the role they play renders their number less important for the settlers consume exactly as much water as half a million Palestinians in Gaza while settlements have been scattered in such a way as to control all roads between the strip's cities, townships and camps. Settlements also control Gaza's northern and southern shores, thus depriving fishermen of half of the western shore.

Israeli security officers do not hide the fact that the settlements have been built to serve as defense lines against Egypt in the event that the Camp David Accords are terminated.

### Gaza Fish and Israeli Sharks

Along the Palestinian and Egyptian coastline, from Ra's al-Naqurah to Port Sa'id, the only people able to benefit from the Mediterranean wealth are Palestinian fishermen in Gaza. This is a historical issue since the inhabitants of the Palestinian south along the sea took refuge in Gaza during the 1948 war. They included many professional fishermen who helped Gaza fishermen. They took over the fishing industry along the Sinai and the Gaza

shores from 1948 until the Israeli withdrawal from Sinai at which time the authorities stopped them from crossing Egyptian shores. The authorities moreover forbade them from fishing north and south of the Gaza shore and, of course, they are forbidden to fish opposite Palestinian shores in the north.

We returned to Gaza and back to the seashore where the fisherman's association headquarters is located. We met with association president Mr Muhammad Zaqqat who commented on the fishermen's worries and the decline of their profession, saying: "The most important problems are the small fishing area since we have been forbidden to cross Egyptian shores, the exorbitant taxes imposed on us and the penalties imposed on fishermen accused of law infractions of up to a total of two full years' income in addition to seizure of their fishing boats, thus causing boat damage and financial loss. This applies to hundreds of families who make their living at fishing, the fishing industry and boat maintenance."

Islamic University circles in Gaza estimate the number of unemployed university graduates at 10,000 while economic circles say that the total number of school-age unemployed is over 25,000. Although one-third of the Gaza population is school-age kids, 45,000 of those have dropped out of school between the ages of 5 and 19 due to the bad economic situation which is forcing parents to put their children out of school, while occupation practices have played a major role in producing this abnormal situation. Over 1,500 political prisoners are currently in occupation jails while the number of citizens who have served jail sentences of one day up to life is about 180,000 (40 percent of the population). The number of razed homes has grown to over 5,000 in addition to the aforementioned economic measures.

Although the establishment of the Islamic University has lowered the number of students looking [elsewhere] for a university, its 4,500 student capacity has eased the tragedy for 8,000 students are graduated from high school every year. Egyptian universities used to absorb these students, but new laws limit the number of students allowed to study in Egypt to less than 200. The most important problem is what can these students do after graduation.

We add here that the economic crisis afflicting some Arab countries due to lower oil prices has begun to have negative effects on Gaza inhabitants in that people who worked in those countries are returning home to join the army of the unemployed and the camps of misery.

The only thing left to say is that all these tragedies are made complete only by bad health conditions and services offered to the people. There are only 7 hospitals, 6 of which are state institutions and one is private.

Government hospitals used to have 900 beds, but this number dropped to 850 in 1985 instead of going up to accomodate the growing population while all these hospitals need modern equipment and treatment and their budget undergoes large cuts every year. According to Palestinian and foreign research data, Israel's control of Gaza resources and economy has put average Israeli profits at \$200 million, which some call the occupation tax.

The Gaza Strip, in any event, is a human bomb ready to explode at any moment.

Finding a peaceful solution that guarantees an Israeli withdrawal as soon as possible is just about the only option that can delay the explosion until a final formula for ending Gaza's critical economic situation can be worked out.

MINISTER OF ECONOMY DISCUSSES VARIOUS ISSUES

London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic 20-26 Aug 86 pp 33-34

[Interview with Dr Raja'i al-Mu'ashir by Huda al-Murr: "The Situation is Sound and the Crisis a Biased Campaign"; in Amman, date not specified]

[Text] Jordanian Minister of Economy Dr Raja'i al-Mu'ashir considers allegations about the Jordanian economic crisis as nothing but a biased campaign. Dr al-Mu'ashir talked about the two 5-year plans for the East and West Banks and assessed their returns. In this special interview with AL-MAJALLAH, the Jordanian minister of economy shed light on the issue of Jordanians working abroad and on emigrant conferences and their contribution to the Jordanian economy. Following is the text of the interview:

[Question] Is there an economic crisis in Jordan or is it a media campaign at this level?

[Answer] Unfortunately, it was a biased campaign without any scientific or realistic basis. If we go back to Jordanian economic history, we find that Jordan used to face many difficulties, some of which were economic and others imposed on it due to various circumstances, including the war with Israel in 1948 and 1967 and problems in the aftermath of 1967. Nonetheless, we find that the Jordanian economy in the fifties, sixties and seventies was able to keep up with the world economy, thus raising the growth rate of the GNP to over 10 percent. We do not deny, however, that Jordan has been affected by the world economic recession that swept the area after 1982. This notwithstanding, Jordan has maintained a growth rate of 4 percent which is higher than similar rates in numerous advanced countries. Hence there is no truth to allegations that the Jordanian economy has collapsed or is in trouble.

[Question] But a tour of local commercial markets shows that the people are suffering from severe crises arising from depression. How do you assess this?

[Answer] There was an upturn in the late seventies brought about by a large influx of capital due to higher oil prices in the world and an increase in foreign remittances from emigrants. The fact is that, in light of the above date, we got accustomed to very broad consumption patterns that included investments and phosphate, potash, lumber and other industries, thus triggering unnatural economic activity. Now we are trying to adjust to a volume of investment in keeping with Jordan's capabilities and capacity and this has generated complaints by the people compared to the previous period. This does not mean a decrease in economic activity, but that the rates of such activities are lower than what they used to be during the previous rise in oil prices.



[Question] This growth did not prevent some companies from going bankrupt.

[Answer] Some companies that were established during this phase faced certain difficulties such as the "Fertilizer" and the "South Cement" Companies. This problem was solved through a merger of these two companies. Following the merger, the government assumed part of the project outlay to make them economically feasible for investment. Moreover, the lumber company which imports everything from the outside is going to be liquidated. A comparison between the number of companies that went bankrupt and those that made it shows that only a very small percentage went under. That is why I say that the rumor is bigger than the size of the economic collapse.

[Question] The motto of the Zayd al-Rifa'i government is a broader scope for free economy. Based on this motto, are there any planned steps to save the economy from recession?

[Answer] There are two kinds of measures adopted by the current government: immediate and long-term measures. With regard to the short term measures, we have begun to deal with each sector separately. For example, we found that the industrial sector is hampered by unacceptable competition, especially since industrial output in Jordan is small and, therefore, must be protected and supported so that it may stand on its own two feet. That is why we issued orders limiting imports to 42 commodities in accordance with Jordanian market needs. Furthermore, we have raised customs fees on foreign manufactured goods that are matched locally and have banned the importation of any goods that do not meet the required specifications in order to give Jordanian industry an equal chance. As for the insurance sector, it has 33 active countries, a huge number for a small country like Jordan. To curb this phenomenon, we have made arrangements for mergers. With regard to the agricultural sector, we found marketing bottlenecks which we solved by offering subsidies to export goods and exportation in general. We studied and dealt with the problems of each sector separately in order to surmount existing difficulties.

[Question] What about the long term?

[Answer] For the long term we have drawn up a 5-year development plan aimed at reevaluating the next phase from the economic point of view, setting goals in keeping with the new reality and achieving growth rates over 4 percent. Moreover, we have investment programs for backing small investments and the plan includes about 4,000 projects distributed over the various sectors.

[Question] The 5-year plan for the East Bank is matched by a similar one for the West Bank. Is there truth to the rumor that it will be implemented with American backing?

[Answer] I am not aware of that and I do not know how this plan will be financed. The minister of planning can brief you on this subject. As for me, I have looked at the plan only and know that it will definitely be financed through Jordanian sources and investments by Jordanians working abroad. The 5-year plan projects will be presented to most world countries in an attempt to obtain loans and assistance necessary for their implementation. The idea behind the plan is to support the steadfastness of West Bank inhabitants in

occupied Palestinian territory and is aimed at helping West Bank inhabitants to survive and at creating work opportunities for people in the occupied territory.

[Question] Has your plan been affected by lower oil prices?

[Answer] Lower oil prices have helped us from the standpoint of lower government subsidies for fuel. On the other hand, however, this does not preclude a negative effect with respect to remittances from Jordanians working abroad. This drop in oil prices is incongruous and not in the interest of the Arab countries.

[Question] Oil drilling was underway in Jordan. Have you halted these operations because of lower prices?

[Answer] Drilling is still in progress. An American company has signed a contract with us to drill for oil, in addition to massive efforts undertaken by the Natural Minerals Authority. Studies and excavations are still ongoing.

[Question] What about results?

[Answer] We cannot confirm the existence of oil in Jordan, but there are encouraging signs that warrant further exploration and drilling.

[Question] Does the government plan to sell some of its shares in public corporations?

[Answer] We are ready to sell certain investments in our corporations to the private sector if it so desires. There are joint ventures and if the public sector wants to buy the government's share, we have no objection because our direction is to leave production to the private sector.

[Question] Will the government come out the winner in this process?

[Answer] In mixed companies the government is a partner and its returns are like any other company, keeping in mind that it does not have an active role in running these companies. It only offers support. We also offer support to companies with no government participation. The desire to participate in the past stemmed from the private sector's wish to bring in the government as a form of guarantee that the project is feasible. It has been proven that these projects are successful. Therefore, if the public sector wants to buy the government's shares, we have no objection.

[Question] It is said that the Ministry of Supply, namely the public sector, is competing with the private sector. Is that true?

[Answer] Not at all. The Ministry of Supply is not in competition with the private sector. It is only concerned with four basic commodities: wheat, rice, sugar and meat. Last year we allowed the private sector to import frozen meat and fish. As a kind of guarantee to the consumer, however, the Ministry of Supply preferred to import these commodities because it handles them. This is not competition.

[Question] Two years ago Jordan became active in the emigrant field, holding conferences in this regard. What was the outcome?

[Answer] Two emigrant conferences have been held. The first was to identify problems affecting emigrants, to get acquainted with their situations and to establish a relationship between them and the mother country. The second was held last month and was more organized than the first in that every community presented an exhaustive study of its situation and ways to support its country. As a result, brother emigrants in Kuwait held a meeting in which they resolved to establish a company with a 25 million dinar capital to invest in various projects in Jordan. Emigrants in Saudi Arabia followed suit. The most important aspect of such conferences is the bond they create between emigrants and their mother country whereby they can visit and keep in touch with their homeland.

[Question] What guarantees has Jordan offered emigrant investments?

[Answer] At present, we have formed a committee to study projects. For example, some emigrants would like to have investment opportunities in housing projects whereby some can own homes for vacation or for their eventual return to the homeland. The committee's task is to study this project to ascertain its success prior to implementation. This goes for all other projects. The aim is not so much to attract emigrant money as to render projects successful so as to guarantee good returns and provide an appropriate and lasting investment medium.

[Question] Some reports say that a large number of Jordanians working abroad have lost their work contracts. Will their return be a burden on Jordan?

[Answer] This matter has been overstated. Emigrants returning permanently to Jordan are very few. Based on families that have shipped in their household effects through customs, the number so far is no more than 420 families. This means that those who lost their contracts do not represent a burden for Jordan.

[Question] There is a joint free zone between you and Syria. What guarantees have both sides offered investors and what safeguards have been instituted against changes?

[Answer] Joint Jordanian-Syrian companies have not been affected in any way even during the political rift between the two countries. Contacts have been maintained and companies continued to operate jointly unaffected by political circumstances. The same is true of the Syrian-Jordanian Industrial Corporation which set up the white cement factory in Jordan and the carpet factory in Syria. Each country deems this factory as its own and coordination among companies has not been and will not be affected. The same thing goes for land and sea transportation. The free zone was established in the last few years and is ready now for investment. It has completed its program and is ready to accept new investors. We have received 127 inquiries from various industrial sectors and are in the process of contacting the petitioners to invite them to visit the sites for inspection and learn about benefits that will be offered. We have asked the company to offer additional benefits to industries set up in this zone as an added incentive.

## PALESTINIAN AFFAIRS

### PLO LEADERS DISCUSS UNITY IN INTERVIEWS

'Early Labor Pains' Cited

Al-Shariqah AL-KHALIJ in Arabic 7 Sep 86 pp 13, 16

[Interviews with Dr Samir Ghawshah, secretary general of the Popular Struggle Front; Khalid al-Fahum, former speaker of the PNC; and Muhammad Nimr Musa, secretary of the Uprising Command in Fatah; interviews were conducted in Damascus, Aden, Tunis, Moscow and Prague 1 week before publication date and before the Prague Declaration, 2 days ago]

[Text] Dr Ghawshah: "Palestinian talks will follow abrogation of the Amman Agreement so that the organization's unity and its role of opposition to a course of surrender may be restored."

Khalid al-Fahum: "The Algerian initiative is not enough; coordination with Syria is inevitable."

Abu Musa: "No talks with 'Arafat or with Fatah's Central Committee."

The PFLP delayed convening a people's congress from which new Palestinian leaders would emerge.

These days the Palestinian scene is going through what seems like early labor pains: efforts are being made to bring forth a new unity among its fringe groups, its forces and its factions. Ever since Algeria's President Chadli Bendjedid presented his initiative to the warring factions, suggesting that they host a round of talks, conduct a national dialogue and convene a new session of the PNC on Algerian territory, the delegations' activities have been brisk. Palestinians have been communicating and meeting with each other everywhere: from Damascus to Aden, from Aden to Moscow, and from Moscow to Prague and Bucharest.

Although these deliberations among Palestinians were numerous, only a few of those which were made public can be relied upon in observing the real meaning of the positions of all Palestinian forces. How do these forces see the slogans of restoring unity to the Palestinian scene? What is the mechanism by means of which this unity can be restored? What are the conditions for achieving it? What are the converse conditions guaranteeing that none of these forces, particularly



the PLO command and Fatah's Central Committee, will retract the commitments and pledges they made during meetings and deliberations with a number of factions in the resistance? What are those conditions guaranteeing that none of these forces will go back on the commitments and pledges they made to Arab forces directly concerned with this matter, or to friendly international forces that are concerned about the organization's unity and the unity of the Resistance Movement? These forces pledged themselves to oppose the imperialist, Zionist attack and the conspiracies that are being designed to put an end to the Palestinian question in a manner favorable to the enemy's camp.

AL-KHALIJ conducted extensive communications with all factions of the Palestinian Revolution in Damascus, Aden, Tunis, Moscow and Prague. It wanted to ask officials in those factions one specific question: What is your concept of unity, and how far have you gone in your efforts to achieve it?

AL-KHALIJ is presenting in detail all the answers to that question without any commentary or intervention on its part. Thus, Arab citizens can find out for themselves what the real directions and the true intentions are. Based on what they read and on what they feel about what they read, Arab citizens can determine whether the Palestinian scene today is going through what seems to be the birth of a new, comprehensive and genuine Palestinian national unity or if all of this is nothing more than a pipe dream for the Arab nation and for Palestinian Arabs in particular, because the given factors for Palestinian unity have not been fully developed yet.

AL-KHALIJ asked Dr Samir Ghawshah, secretary general of the Popular Struggle Front [PSF], the following question: "Past events have created various approaches among Palestinians for dealing with the political situation. One approach is led by Yasir 'Arafat and the Central Committee; the other one, which rejects that approach, is asserted by the Palestine Rescue Front. Other Palestinian factions have also taken another position.

"Regarding the restoration of Palestinian unity, what in your opinion is the practical mechanism by means of which that goal may be achieved?"

[Answer] After the Palestinian Revolutionary forces left Beirut, the crisis within the PLO got worse. Two approaches emerged: the national approach adhered to all the objectives of the Palestinian people, including their right to return to their homeland; their right to determine their own destiny; and their right to establish an independent Palestinian state. The national approach also held on to the notion that the PLO is the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, and it rejected any formula for participation, representation or delegation. The other approach departed from PNC resolutions, betting on its ability to establish a foothold for itself in the course of the solutions that were being bandied about in the region. That, of course, did have an effect on all political and organizational areas and on all areas on the Palestinian scene that have to do with the struggle and the people. 'Arafat and those who followed his approach mistakenly believed they could make some gains in a settlement process. That is why they counted on a relationship with Jordan and on a relationship with Egypt. The Amman Agreement was made, and before that a council meeting was held in Amman. That council meeting intensified the fragmentation within the PLO which has been taking place over the past 2 years.

Our people sensed the difficulties which the PLO was experiencing. Then, there was concrete evidence that 'Arafat's leadership had reached a dead end. He failed to come up with any results that he could have obtained. Instead, we found that he was in a crisis. He had reached a stage in which he was being called upon to make a complete change. He was being asked to abandon the PLO and recognize Resolution 242. What happened during that journey? The obstacles in front of the PLO grew as its role and standing on all levels were diminished. At the same time the national approach continued to hold on to the PLO. Followers of that approach continued to insist on national goals, and they continued to struggle. What happened in Lebanon after the departure from Beirut has undoubtedly confirmed that the national approach was right. The national approach, which insisted on the need to defy and oppose Zionist aggression, is joining forces with Lebanese and Syrian national forces in opposing the Zionist occupation of Lebanon and the political consequences of that occupation. Thus, they managed to abort the 17 May Agreement in Lebanon, and they forced the Zionist enemy to withdraw from most Lebanese territory unconditionally. National factions had also cautioned from the very beginning against the consequences of the policies that were being pursued by 'Arafat, and they opposed attempts to convene the council in Amman. They also opposed the Amman Agreement, which in our opinion, is the first step to the imposition of a capitulatory settlement in the region. U.S. imperialism and the Zionist enemy are determined to reject the PLO, but they are willing to talk with a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation, and that is what the Amman Agreement is based upon.

It is our judgment that the general Arab situation, which manifested itself in fragmentation and regression among Arabs, was undoubtedly one of the factors in subsequent political developments and was also closely associated with that fragmented Palestinian situation. And that was the other factor which brought our cause to where it is at this stage. We are saying, first of all, as a basic position that the unity of the PLO is the unity of our people standing behind the PLO as their sole, legitimate representative. That is the central and fundamental issue in any confrontation with the Zionist enemy or in any opposition to American capitulatory schemes which would put an end to our cause. We believe that Palestinian national unity is a fundamental condition for the survival and victory of the Palestinian Revolution. That is why we are fighting tirelessly for this unity on specific political and organizational principles. We are saying that Palestinian national unity is not a slogan, and we must face up to the reasons for the fragmentation. There is no doubt that when we talk about a mechanism for national unity, we have to ponder the reasons for the lack of unity, and we have to get rid of them. Otherwise, discussions about national unity would turn into exercises for reciting these slogans, instead of efforts to turn them into concrete, practical steps that would lead to a unified action. We think that this mechanism for achieving national unity consists of fundamental principles that are manifested in turning away from all the policies that were produced by the other approach on the Palestinian scene. Unless that approach is dropped, the cause of unity and the objectives of unity cannot be achieved.

We are saying in all objectivity that the previous period has to be reviewed by all parties without any bias. There is no doubt, however, that the principal party which must stop and review its policies is that of 'Arafat and the Central Committee. Unless the policies which led to fragmentation and the breakup of

national unity are revoked, the matter will be very difficult. That is why we think that Fatah's Central Committee must make a direct announcement about the abrogation of the Amman Agreement. It must reaffirm the national consensus resolutions, the PLO's charter, the PLO's organizational and political program, and the resolutions issued by successive legitimate sessions of the PNC until the 16th session. We think that would constitute the preliminary step for dialogue on all political and organizational issues about which disagreement exists. There is the relationship with Cairo and its consequences, and there are numerous political and organizational issues that have to be considered. The next step would be taken in light of whatever agreement is reached or disagreement remains on these matters. If agreement is reached on all issues about which there were differences, a national unity council can be scheduled after that. But if the same previous policies are adhered to, we think we can project that there will be no agreement on the issue. On the other hand, until such agreement is reached, we think we must not stand by idly or silently. That is why we think that the immediate task is to try to establish the broadest national alignment which would include national factions, forces and figures who adhere to the national approach. We can thus strengthen our steadfastness in opposing foreign conspiracies, specifically those that are carried out inside the occupied land, and we can reinforce our opposition to all capitulatory schemes.

#### The Moscow Meeting

[Question] Yasir 'Abd Rabbuh, assistant secretary general of the Democratic Front, announced from Moscow that a preliminary agreement had been reached or that a declaration of intent had been made by Fatah's representative, who stated that the Amman Agreement would not become an obstacle to reestablishing the PLO's unity. Don't you believe this announcement could be an adequate beginning for proceeding now with the dialogue process?

[Answer] It is our opinion that what has been announced so far does not constitute the required step. We rather think that this matter and that position which was announced could constitute a step that might be utilized by 'Arafat to undermine the national position which is holding on to national unity. We think that required step is basically an unequivocal and a direct declaration. Vague formulations and pronouncements will not do because they will not serve the cause of national unity. The Central Committee must declare its position unequivocally by abrogating the Amman Agreement and reaffirming the national consensus agreements. In our opinion that is what would constitute a serious and an effective preliminary step showing the other party's willingness to restore unity.

[Question] There were meetings between you and the parties that took part in the Moscow meeting. What did you achieve in those meetings? Are there any specific results?

[Answer] Meetings with the Democratic Front and with the Palestinian Communist Party are continuing, but there have been no meetings with Fatah's Central Committee. Yes, we did discuss that recent action which was carried out by the Democratic Front and the Palestinian Communist Party. We listened to the positions that were set forth, and we affirmed that what they did was neither sufficient nor was it the foundation for a real beginning that would set in



motion the process for achieving Palestinian national unity. We do, of course, understand their concern, and we do understand the motives of the Palestinian Communist party and the Democratic Front. But we had previously disagreed with them specifically about the Amman Agreement and the attitude towards it.

We were affirming the need to announce a position whose first step would be the abrogation of the Amman Agreement. They, however, thought that through dialogue alone could the Amman Agreement be abrogated. But no differences between us will break up our bilateral relations or prevent them from continuing. It is our duty to act on the basis of our concern for establishing the broadest relations with all national factions regardless of differences in independent opinions and tactics. That is why we will continue our dialogue meetings with the Communist Party and with the Democratic Front because we believe that we must have an open mind in considering this stage. We believe that an opportunity for the broadest dialogue must be created, and that meetings must be held with national parties which decided on their position toward the Amman Agreement and then set out to find what they had in common with the other parties. It was their intention to use these common denominators to continue the struggle for Palestinian national unity.

[Question] What is the role that Arab-Palestinian relations can play to help Palestinian factions regain their unity and improve the standard of coordination and cooperation among these factions in facing up to current challenges?

[Answer] It is true that when we talk about the Palestinian people having a role at the forefront of the opposition to the Zionist-imperialist scheme, whose aim is to dominate the region, that means only one thing. It means that the Palestinian people are part of the Arab nation and that the task of liberating Palestine and regaining Arab rights is that of the entire Arab nation. If the Palestinian people make up the spearhead or the foremost line of attack in the face of Zionist and imperialist conspiracies, that is because there is a dialectical relationship between the Arab situation and the Palestinian situation. When Arab conditions are advanced, they essentially have a positive effect on the Palestinian cause. We also realize that when unity is a feature of the Palestinian situation and when that unity manifests itself in the PLO, the effect on the Arab condition is positive. Therefore, we think that Arab-Palestinian relations are organic because Palestine is part of a whole. At this stage we think that a genuine national and patriotic position is that which manifests itself in actions and not in words. It is that which manifests itself in the proper interpretation of Arab Summit resolutions and the Arab League Charter and in adherence to the PLO. A few Arab countries, however, think that the Palestinian cause has become cumbersome and burdensome. They think they have to get rid of this burden.

Let us also not forget that some Arab countries are more interested in their own regional interests than they are in the national interest. Indeed, these regimes can do something before talking about what the PLO and other organizations can do and before talking about unity. The basic posture has to be one of adhering to the national position on the Palestinian cause. That is the principle, but we find that some regimes are inclined to try and find out how they can get rid of this burden.



Let's clarify this further. Some regimes may wish to set the PLO aside and stand alongside Jordan. It is our duty to strengthen the steadfastness of our masses in the occupied land, to create an opportunity for the Palestinian Revolution to do its part in the struggle against the Zionist enemy, and to engage in armed conflict on all the fronts surrounding Palestine.

#### The Algerian Initiative

[Question] We are asking about the Algerian initiative. How far did that initiative go? Is it still capable of coming up with a formula to restore unity, or has the opportunity to do that been missed?

[Answer] When President Chadli Bendjedid, in his address to Algerian fighters, proclaimed his concern for the Palestinian cause and Algeria's willingness to receive Palestinian factions and conduct a dialogue with them, we valued and appreciated that position of concern for the Palestinian cause and the cause of unity. In our communications with fellow Algerians we affirmed that while we appreciated and saluted the position of the Algerian president and the Algerian people, we were also concerned about the success of the Algerian initiative. It is our judgment that the success of the initiative requires that talks be held with the factions. Talks between the factions and Algeria are required so that Algeria could be briefed on all the different positions, and that would constitute the grounds for the proposed dialogue. We affirmed that many reasons had led to the breakup of unity. Therefore, any discussion about any dialogue must first consider these reasons. We said we had political and organizational differences, and we said that talks and discussions had to be held. We said these differences had to be considered, and we said that that would help the initiative succeed. Our fellow Algerians, however, are still proposing their initiative, but we have not yet received any outline of what they managed to come up with. We are concerned about dealing with that approach in a positive manner, and we do not want any subsequent action to stop.

#### Agreement between Five Organizations

[Question] Let's go back to Ahmad 'Abd-al-Rahman's announcement that five organizations had reached an agreement.

[Answer] First, according to our information talks were held between three and not five factions. These factions are the Democratic Front, the Palestinian Communist Party and Fatah's Central Committee. This is according to information which was conveyed to us by those who took part in those talks. Second, the Democratic Front informed us that a time and a place for convening a PNC meeting had not been set. We doubt that Ahmad 'Abd-al-Rahman's announcement was accurate. This is what we deduce from our meetings with those who participated in the talks. Third, we realize that the three parties have differences and disagreements, especially since no joint statement was issued about the outcome of the meetings either in Tunisia or in Egypt.

Thus, we do not think that what has taken place constitutes an adequate plan. It is our opinion that our people need to be presented with a clear position, and that would be the basis of any evaluation. On our part we have been affirming that a bigger step was necessary for the pursuit of national unity. We've

affirmed that that step was not, as was mentioned in the statement, that of asserting that the Amman Agreement would not become an obstacle to unity. We think that the announcement has to be clear and unequivocal: it has to affirm the PNC resolutions. Political and organizational principles are also required for national unity, and our people must not be subjected to vague positions on the question of unity, particularly when unity is discussed as though it were imminent. Our people's national sensibility makes them realize the importance of national unity. They want that unity to be based on true principles and not on statements that play on words and emotions.

Khalid al-Fahum, Former Speaker of the PNC

Khalid al-Fahum chaired more than one session of the PNC. He did not agree that a PNC session should be held in Amman because he feared that could intensify the division in the Palestinian scene. Mr al-Fahum is an independent, national Palestinian figure. This means that he is not committed to any one of the feuding revolutionary factions. We asked him the following question.

[Question] Past events have produced more than one position from which Palestinians could deal with the political situation. This makes the problem of Palestinian national unity now the foundation for any action. What in your opinion is the practical mechanism by means of which unity can be restored at this stage?

[Answer] The division in the PLO is clear. I think that originally that division resulted from violations of the resolutions issued by legitimate PNC meetings. The 16th session of the PNC which was held in Algeria in 1983 was the most recent of these meetings. These violations were made by leaders of the organization, and there are numerous manifestations of them, including convening an illegitimate meeting of the PNC in Amman without a quorum. Most factions of the Resistance Movement did not attend that meeting. The Amman Agreement was signed after that, and that agreement takes away from the PLO its right to act as the independent and sole representative of the Arab people of Palestine. This violates Arab Summit resolutions, particularly those of the 1974 Rabat Summit. The Amman Agreement talks about a confederation when the land is still occupied and when the enemy is holding on to that land even more strongly and refusing to withdraw from it.

The starting point for restoring Palestinian national unity--and that is a fundamental matter without which it would be difficult for the Palestinian struggle to continue and to be stepped up--lies in going back to the legitimate 16th session of the PNC and all its resolutions, which must be adhered to in what is said and done. A collective leadership that can be trusted with the future of the Palestinian struggle has to be established, particularly since the question of Palestine is a complex question. The enemy is not an easy enemy, and our people are scattered: some are in occupied portions of our land; some are in various areas of concentration which include most of the Arab countries; and some are in foreign countries. This makes a collective leadership a matter of fundamental importance in opposing the enemy, which is Israel and Zionism. That enemy is receiving unlimited support from U.S. imperialism.

[Question] How do you see the nature of Arab-Palestinian relations in so far as their influence is concerned and their ability to help Palestinian factions and the PLO regain their unity so they can confront current challenges?

[Answer] The Arab people of Palestine are an inseparable part of the Arab nation. Our people have always affirmed, in the National Charter and in the resolutions of their national council, that our battle with Zionism and with Israel is a national battle in which the people of Palestine make up the front line. That is why the PLO has to establish the best of relations with the Arab people and with Arab countries, and it must not interfere in their internal affairs. By the same token, these Arab countries must not interfere in the organization's internal affairs. We are affirming absolutely that the battle with the enemy is a national battle that all Arabs have to fight without any regional or national bias.

Arab countries can thus help the PLO regain its national unity based on the resolutions that were issued by legitimate PNC meetings. The PLO must devote its efforts to opposing and fighting occupation. It must insist on our national rights to return to our land and determine our destiny, and it must insist on our right to establish an independent state on Palestinian territory. In this regard the importance of the relationship that has to be established between the PLO and Syria has to be emphasized. This is because Syria in particular provides the historic and geographical depth for the question of Palestine, and it holds the position of foremost bunker in the face of Israel's expansionism and the enemy's plans and schemes.

[Question] How can the Rescue Front and the forces that are active in Damascus contribute to the restoration of the organization's unity?

[Answer] By going back to the basics and the origins. That is, by insisting on the charter and on the resolutions of legitimate PNC meetings; by rejecting any deviations from the charter and those resolutions; and by questioning those who deviate from those principles.

#### Coordination between Syria and Algeria

[Question] What has become of the Algerian initiative? Is it still alive, or is it dead?

[Answer] We affirmed in Damascus that we welcomed President Chadli Bendjedid's initiative for the PLO's unity, and we affirmed our strong concern for that unity.

However, the Algerian initiative stopped at that point because there was no follow-up and no coordination between Algeria and Syria. Such coordination is necessary for achieving national unity. Syrian land remains the foundation that supports and reinforces the Palestinian Resistance Movement. Also the lack of agreement between factions of the Resistance Movement based on those principles which have to be relied upon in the process of restoring unity was one of the reasons that led to the lack of movement in the Algerian initiative at the required speed. These principles are total adherence to the charter and the resolutions of legitimate PNC meetings and the abrogation of all agreements and steps which resulted from the illegitimate Amman meeting.



Abu Musa

Muhammad Nimr Musa, also known as Col Abu Musa, is secretary of the Uprising Command in Fatah. He has another concept, and he employs other premises in his dealings with the National Rescue Front and with all factions. He also has another concept, and he employs other premises in his approach to the principal subject of this expanded investigation, which is Palestinian national unity. What does Abu Musa have to say about the Rescue Front?

[Answer] We in the Rescue Front have defined two objectives for the front. The first is to put the PLO back on its national, anti-imperialist and anti-Zionist track which opposes capitulatory solutions. The second objective is to topple the approach of 'Arafat and his Central Committee. This is clearly spelled out in the agreement we made and on whose basis we established the Rescue Front.

That is why when we set forth how these principles were to be turned into actions, namely, how can we regain the PLO, we said that the mechanism for regaining the PLO would be that of taking the first step of convening a national congress in which all our people's segments, classes and scattered communities inside and outside the Arab homeland would be represented. We would come up with people who truly represented the Palestinian Revolution and the active national forces instead of those who represented members of certain families and their relatives. We said that that would be the first stage. The national congress would be convened; decisions would be made to remove 'Arafat from his position of leadership; and then a steering committee would be formed from this national congress to make preparations for a PNC meeting. That PNC meeting would eventually elect the national leaders and the PLO leaders who would express the wishes and aspirations of our people.

It was our colleagues in the Democratic Front who delayed that idea. They proposed in their magazine and in their literature the idea of convening a national congress, and that's all. What good would convening a national congress do if its goal is not to let us achieve our political objective which we, as a national Rescue Front, agree about? Such a congress would ultimately be a waste of time, and it would not enable us to reach our objective. We would be convening a national congress that would issue statements. But if this were a matter of issuing statements, then we as a Rescue Front or as Palestinian factions can come up with the statements we want to make, condemning or chastising anyone we want. We wanted to convene a national congress as a step in an integrated process which would put the PLO back on its national track.

Unfortunately, everyone now, even the Popular Front in the Rescue Front has relinquished, overlooked or forgotten that our objective is to bring back the organization. What they are proposing now is restoring the PLO's unity. Getting the PLO back is one thing and restoring its unity is another. Getting back the PLO means toppling its current leaders and making the PLO an organization for which the purpose of liberation would be based on principles, on the charter and on political programs. Its leaders would be trustworthy, and they would be solicitous of those principles and objectives. So far, the Popular Front does not agree to being a party to a process leading to that objective. It has now started proposing the idea of restoring the PLO's unity. In a political sense this means that 'Arafat's group would go back to its active positions, and



solidarity and alliance with members of that group would once again be restored. What we are saying is that this is not what the Rescue Front wants. We want unity among the national factions and the forces which are represented in the Rescue front. We are actively resisting, and not merely opposing unity in the comprehensive sense, which means unity with 'Arafat and with his Central Committee.

#### A Radical Solution

[Question] In your opinion, what would be the practical mechanism which could be used at the present time to regain the PLO or restore your notion of its unity?

[Answer] We are first of all committed. We think that the proper and the correct course which must be pursued with courage and without hesitation by Palestinian national forces and factions is that which would bring about a radical solution that would give the revolution its true meaning and restore to the PLO its active and influential role among Palestinians, Arabs and the international community in the struggle inside the country and abroad. The PLO should go back to being a liberation organization and not an organization through which American plans are unfolded. This means that it should become an organization that opposes American and Zionist schemes. This is the solution: if all the factions clearly agree about this matter, and if they translate that agreement into practice, then, after this lengthy experience, we will be able to restore the close relationship among all national factions on the national Palestinian scene. We will then have a true national Palestinian unity and we will have a national liberation organization with a record of all these glorious achievements for Palestinians and Arabs. That organization will have assumed its role in all international forums. Any other solution confuses the issue and brings back the results of past actions. We will be firm in our opposition to anyone who assumes such a position because this is unfair to our people, unfair to the uprising and unfair to the drive to move ahead.

#### The Moscow Declaration

[Question] In that light then, your position on the Moscow Declaration and on Ahmad 'Abd-al-Rahman's statement can be defined, can't it?

[Answer] Yes. First, there are no five organizations as Ahmad 'Abd-al-Rahman announced. The five organizations which are claimed to have an agreement are the Arab Liberation Front, which became defunct physically and politically after the departure from Beirut in 1982. It is no longer a faction that can make decisions because the organization has ceased to exist, and its fighters have been taken out of action and sent to Baghdad.

Second, the Palestine Liberation Front is an organization whose leaders and representatives are in the Rescue Front. Tal'at Ya'qub is its secretary and not Abu al-'Abbas, who was expelled from this front.

Third, the Palestinian Communist Party. This party has not been represented in the organization since the PLO was established. The Palestinian Communist Party is not one of the PLO's factions; it does not agree with the PLO's charter or

agenda. Quite the opposite, that party which was not involved in fighting the colonialist occupation of Palestine--it did not even throw a single Molotov cocktail--is in agreement with the Zionist entity and recognizes its existence as a matter of fact.

What is left then are Fatah and the Democratic Front. This is the Palestinian consensus they are talking about.

We are saying that the announcement which was made about this step is nothing more than a clever media ploy which cannot last.

#### The Soviets Are Saddened

[Question] The announcement which was made by Moscow stated that the delegation met with Soviet officials. The announcement mentioned that those meetings gave the impression that the Soviets were sympathetic about this matter.

[Answer] Actually, a three-man delegation was formed after their meeting in Tunisia. Mahmud 'Abbas, also known as Abu Mazin; Yasir 'Abd Rabbuh, from the Democratic Front; and Na'im al-Ashhab, from the Palestinian Communist Party, made up that delegation. The three men went to the Soviet Union to inform officials there that a dialogue process for Palestinian unity had begun. We appreciate the Soviet Union's position, a position that thinks a strong and active PLO which can influence the conflict is essential. We realize that throughout its conflict with imperialism, which is headed by the United States, the Soviet Union has thought that the presence of a strong Palestinian party represented by the PLO was essential. We realize that the Soviet Union is saddened by what the PLO is going through now. The Soviet Union opposes the 11 February Agreement, and it has declared its opposition to it. The Soviet Union talks about how far these leaders have moved toward American positions. It talks about the pressure they are applying in favor of American positions and in favor of their return. But the Soviet Union has a cosmic policy, and it does not discuss the details of this operation. The Soviet Union does not see the need to discuss the details of this operation to restore unity. It looks at the matter in a comprehensive manner as it seeks the organization's unity. But it is not up to the Soviets to do that. If the original forces on the Palestinian scene cannot restore that unity, we are not asking the Soviet Union to do it. That is why the Soviet Union deals with the situation as it exists, and it hopes that unity can be restored within the Palestinian scene. That is why 'Arafat and the Democratic Front are taking actions that take advantage of the Soviets' wishes: they are acting as though the Soviets were covering up or rejecting that unity.

The Soviet Union does not apply pressure to anyone, nor does it assume any positions that are incompatible with its principles and objectives.

[Question] Then in the light of what you've just said, it is not possible to establish any kind of relationship with Yasir 'Arafat and the Central Committee, is it?

[Answer] That's right. It is not possible to go back and do business with those people. We may not allow them to become involved in national action because they will destroy it.

[Question] But what you are saying contradicts what is being said by parties in the Rescue Front with whom you are allied.

[Answer] Yes. Actually, there is no contradiction. However, they did retract positions which had been previously agreed to. For example, when 'Arafat went to Cairo in December of 1983, the Rescue Front, the Democratic Front and representatives of the Palestinian Communist Party met in the PNC offices of Khalid al-Fahum. We issued a statement in which we said that 'Arafat's visit to Cairo stripped him of his leadership of the PLO. We said that he had lost his qualifications and the legal grounds for leading the PLO. George Habash even said that 'Arafat was a Palestinian al-Sadat. But 2 or 3 months later a dialogue was started with 'Arafat in Aden in the name of the Democratic Alliance. Then in 1984 these men went and talked, and after 7 months of talks they came out with the Algerian-Aden Agreement, which was adopted, supported and sponsored by Algeria and Aden. The Soviet Union and the Socialist Organization gave it their blessings. But how long did this agreement last? One month only! On 11 February 'Arafat called a PNC meeting in Amman and violated the agreement. He made them agree to hold a PNC meeting, but he ignored everything else in that agreement: he ignored the political agenda, the organizational program, the distribution of positions and the allocation of quotas. This is a lesson we must not forget. The agreements we made must not be forgotten. All those who do not learn from such lessons will pay the price with their political and national reputation.

[Question] Is there anything new in what you've considered to be the minimum program that you are offering to Palestinian forces and factions?

[Answer] As the Uprising Movement in Fatah we are committed to the program we signed in the Rescue Front. That is, we want to restore the PLO to its national course, and we want to overthrow this course and its symbols. We consider that to be the minimum that six Palestinian factions have agreed to. Khalid al-Fahum, the legitimate speaker of the PNC is on our side, and the mechanism for bringing about that minimum is this:

1. If they adopt this notion, the six factions and those factions that are not now under the umbrella of the Democratic Rescue Front would call for a people's congress in the first stage. This congress would represent all sectors of our people inside the country and abroad. It would represent in particular Palestinians in the camps, in locations where there is suffering. These camps are the real fountainhead for the revolution and its survival. They provide the fuel for the revolution and serve as a reservoir for that fuel, especially after they were denied [the right] to select their representatives to national council meetings.

2. A trustworthy steering committee would be formed by the people's congress. It would represent all national factions, personalities and forces, and it would study the possibility of determining the members of the next PNC. There would be a future stage during which a PNC meeting would be convened. It is from that meeting that a national Palestinian leadership would emerge.

3. At the same time all relations with the president of Fatah and with members of its Central Committee would be broken.

To be continued tomorrow.

## Desired Unity Defined

Al-Shariqah AL-KHALIJ in Arabic 8 Sep 86 pp 11, 14

[Interview with Sulayman al-Najab, representative of the Palestinian Communist Party; with Abu 'Ali Mustafa, assistant secretary general of the PFLP; and with Nayif Hawatimah: "The Unity That Is Being Sought Is Both Political and Organizational;" interviews were conducted in Damascus, Aden, Moscow, Prague, and Bucharest 1 week prior to publication and before the announcement of the Prague Declaration]

[Text] Nayif Hawatimah: "Arab Solidarity can be achieved by national unity and vice versa."

Abu 'Ali Mustafa: "The urgent task is that of restoring unity on the basis of anti-imperialism and anti-Zionism."

### Contradictory Efforts

Sulayman al-Najab, representing the Palestinian Communist Party, took part in all the activities which took place recently among the Palestinian factions. AL-KHALIJ asked him the following first question:

[Question] In the current Palestinian situation it seems that selecting the primary task for Palestinian factions and forces is the problem which is giving rise to the conflicting efforts that are being made. How do you, in the Palestinian Communist Party, view this matter?

[Answer] In light of the major dangers that the Palestinian national struggle is facing, we think that the principal task facing each Palestinian national faction, each Palestinian national party and each fellow Palestinian is that of putting the PLO's unity back on a foundation of national consensus. The PLO's unity must be based on a foundation of defending the rights of our people. The unity of the PLO can block the attempts that are being made to create alternatives to it.

The unity of the PLO can hinder the forces that are trying to set themselves up once again as guardians over the Palestinian people. This is an urgent task which has to have the support and backing of the masses and their struggle in the occupied land so that the autonomy conspiracy, the functional distribution of tasks or any other conspiracy by any other name whose aim is to put an end to our people's cause can be blocked.

[Question] What do you think are the conditions for achieving that unity?

[Answer] We think the conditions for achieving this unity can be met by fulfilling one's responsibility and giving up any marginal differences. Secondary conflicts have to be abandoned. Above all else, politically motivated policies which provide a legitimate cover to suspect activity that is carried out by those forces in the occupied land must be abandoned. Policies and agreements that infringed upon the rights of the Palestinian people, relinquished their right to have an independent state, and relinquished the PLO's right to



represent its people independently must be abandoned. Policies that relinquished the PLO's right to continue the struggle against our enemies, the rulers of Israel, and against imperialism must be abandoned. What we mean by that is that it is necessary to expedite the abrogation of the Amman Agreement which, along with the concessions that were made in it, is now being used to cover up, provide an incentive for and bestow blessings on the activities of some of those suspect elements in the occupied land. These people have quite openly started disavowing our people's right to determine their destiny.

[Question] Major difficulties are emerging, however, because Palestinian factions have assumed different positions in their assessment of the facts and in their determination of how the Palestinian unity that is being sought is to be accomplished.

[Answer] When we talk about solutions for overcoming these difficulties, we do not start out with a vacuum, nor do we start from zero. The Palestinian national struggle has not stopped despite the vicious attack against it by imperialism and Zionism. The national struggle has not stopped even though forces have historically conspired against the rights of our people.

The essential differences within the Palestinian National Movement are those between two tendencies. One tendency is still holding on to its national cause despite everything. The other tendency is one that got confused by these difficulties and tried to look for other solutions. Some of these solutions tended to yield on the demand for an independent national state and to bargain with that goal by exploring the possibility of finding a solution in a federation or a confederation. This tendency also yielded on the notion that the PLO is the sole representative of the Palestinian people by allowing other parties to join it in representing the Palestinian people. This desperate tendency has taken on another appearance. It appears to be going back to proposals which appear to be revolutionary and extremist when in reality they are desperate proposals that deny the right of our people to determine their destiny and establish their independent national state.

Our party, the Democratic Alliance, and our colleagues in the Democratic Front, as well as broad Palestinian forces inside and outside the occupied land, have opposed these tendencies. We insisted on the National Consensus Program which was quite clearly formulated in the resolutions of the 16th session of the PNC. Our action is based on our belief that the interests of our people and a solution to their tragedy can only be realized by achieving the Palestinian people's national independence and their right to determine their destiny, establish their independent state and return to their homeland. Events have shown that any other solution which does not achieve these objectives cannot guarantee peace in the region.

Forces fighting against our people, as well as forces who have been negotiating over their right, have tried taking advantage of the geographical conditions of our people and the fact that they are living in the diaspora. They directed their attacks against the PLO, since this organization is not merely a national front, but rather the entity for Palestinians. It is the organization that unites the Palestinian people inside and outside the occupied land. It is the judgment of these forces that by breaking up the PLO, our people's greatest

accomplishment in their modern history will be destroyed, and their cause will be dealt with in the diaspora as a question of refugees.

Our affirmation of the Fes Summit resolutions stems from our desire to block efforts that are being made by some Arab regimes to disavow the rights of the Palestinian people and recant the commitments they made at the Fes Summit. The emphasis we're placing on an international conference in which all parties to the conflict would take part--and that includes the five permanent members of the UN Security Council and, of course, the PLO as an independent party equal to the others--stems from our faith that such an international conference would be the proper framework under which the Middle East question can be and must be considered. It is through such a conference that a settlement of the essential conflict can be reached, and that is, the legitimate and inalienable rights of the Palestinian people would be acknowledged.

Affirming the resolutions of the 16th session of the PNC and the resolutions of the Fes Summit and placing emphasis on an international conference constitute the political grounds about which the majority of Palestinian forces agree. These forces have the backing and support of our people and our allies, in both the Arab and international contexts.

#### Excuses Refuted

[Question] How far has the Algerian initiative gone? Is it still capable of becoming a proper framework for initiating talks on unity, or do you believe that it has run its course?

[Answer] We think President Chadli Bendjedid's initiative is still alive. When the initiative was made, we welcomed it, and we regarded it as a political position of considerable significance in its support for the PLO. The initiative opposed attempts to put an end to the organization. In the course of our party's communications with fellow Algerians, we asked them to give us some time to initiate talks which would be prompted by the Algerian initiative. The purpose of these talks would be to resolve some of the issues that are in dispute and come to terms with them so that we can go to Algeria with common grounds that guarantee the success of that initiative. The successful initiative would then be crowned by the restoration of the PLO's unity.

We did in fact start this process, and we invited various Palestinian factions to take part in it. Together with our colleagues in the Democratic Front, we started talks with the leaders of Fatah. A series of meetings was held in Tunis and in other capital cities. At the same time we continued our talks with other Palestinian parties, with our colleagues in the Popular Front, in the Popular Struggle Front, and in the Palestine Liberation Front. We also talked with groups of PNC members in Jordan, in the Gulf states and in other locations. Talks were also still going on with various national forces, organizations and personalities in the occupied land. All these communications and talks focused on resolving some issues that were in dispute and coming to terms with them. They also focused on stating them in unequivocal political language and including them on the agenda of the coming meeting in Algeria.

We believe that restoring the PLO's unity can be accomplished on the basis of a commitment to the national agenda, which includes returning to the homeland,

self-determination and establishing an independent state. The PLO's unity can be restored on the basis of its being the only legitimate organization representing the Palestinian people and defending its own independence.

That is why we reject any attempt to consolidate the split in the PLO or any attempt to create an alternative to it, whether that alternative comes from one party or another. We also think that the unity of the PLO can be and must be restored as soon as possible, particularly since during the period of division and separation confirmation was provided to our people first and to the other parties second that there is no future for separation and none for any agenda other than that of the National Consensus. This was reaffirmed in the experience with the Amman Agreement and what became of it. That agreement was signed by the PLO's official command and by Jordan, and it was used by Jordan, by Egypt, by the Americans and by the Israelis to put an end to the PLO and to the cause of the Palestinian people. When this effort failed, Jordan and Egypt and the Americans and Israelis promptly stopped their coordination activities with the PLO's leaders, and they stopped dealing with them. They declared their hostility to the PLO and proceeded to obstruct its efforts. The policy of the Amman Agreement has reached a dead end, and it has led to the bankruptcy of two principal elements:

The first element is the position of the Palestinian people. The vast majority of Palestinians rejected the agreement. Our people's position helped our Arab and international allies. The other element has to do with the fact that those who came forward with that agreement used this concession to ask for further concessions, the latest of which was that the PLO write itself off and give up the cause of our people. We had warned from the outset that chasing the illusions of an American solution would only lead to more national fragmentation and it would further undermine the national cause and increase the dangers to it.

It is not too late yet. Abandoning this policy requires that the Amman Agreement be officially abrogated. Quite frankly we no longer understand why the PLO's official leaders are dragging their feet about abrogating this agreement even though all the excuses and justifications that were being made for not abrogating the agreement have been refuted. Our explanation for this foot dragging is that there are those in the PLO's leadership who have not yet lost this illusion.

#### The Proper Overture

We considered the abrogation of the Amman Agreement to be the proper overture for the restoration of the PLO's unity and the initiation of a serious, national Palestinian dialogue culminating in a comprehensive national agreement that could be consolidated in a new PNC session. This is what can be done in the political arena. In the organizational arena, the fundamental principles which are mentioned in the Aden-Algeria Agreement, which was signed by Fatah and the Democratic Alliance, can constitute the basis for solving the other political problems and the organizational problems which the PLO is facing.

I said that in our meetings with Fatah's leaders, we and our colleagues in the Democratic Front had reached a certain stage in resolving some of the issues



that were raised. These issues include abrogation of the Amman Agreement; the question of inviting all Palestinian factions and forces to take part in the comprehensive national dialogue; the question of the unity of Palestinian forces in the occupied land; and the question of opposing the American-Israeli-Jordanian scheme which is being applied in the occupied land to find an alternative leadership. We also dealt with the question of the alliance between the PLO and Arab liberation forces, and we dealt with the question of the PLO's relations with Arab countries, with Syria and with the Lebanese National Movement in particular. We are convinced that the resolutions of the 16th session of the PNC and the political principles which were mentioned in the Aden-Algeria Agreement still constitute the proper and the only political basis for strengthening the relationship with Syria and with the Lebanese National Movement.

We think the task of restoring the relationship of struggle with the fraternal country of Syria is an urgent one. That relationship serves the interests of the Palestinian people and of Syria, and it serves the interests of the entire Arab struggle against imperialism and Zionism.

#### The Central Committee's Pledge

[Question] What is the nature of those issues in which agreement with the representative of Fatah's Central Committee was reached in the meetings that were held in Moscow? How will this agreement be carried out?

[Answer] Fatah's leaders pledged to abrogate the Amman Agreement and to announce the abrogation of that agreement while the next PNC meeting was in session. That pledge was made verbally in front of us in the course of the talks which took place in Tunis and Moscow. Fatah's leaders also pledged to participate in a comprehensive Palestinian national dialogue that would precede the PNC session. They affirmed that approach as well as their role in restoring the relations of struggle with Syria.

They also affirmed that everyone was to be included in the Palestinian national dialogue and that no Palestinian faction was to be excluded from it. We also reached a political agreement with Fatah; the aim of that agreement is to strengthen the unity of Palestinian forces inside the occupied land. We consider what has been accomplished to be positive, but we still have a lot to do. We are still striving, and we will continue to strive for the purpose of reaching a comprehensive national agreement guaranteeing the political and organizational bases upon which the PLO's unity can be restored. That agreement has to be written; it has to be public; and it has to be presented to all the Palestinian people and to all their allies. This process has not yet been accomplished. As I said, most of Fatah's pledges have hitherto been verbal.

Reaching a written agreement that deals with all the political and organizational issues is tantamount to having a weapon we could use to persuade Palestinian factions and help them participate in this serious dialogue. On our part we want all factions to take part in the dialogue. We are convinced that all issues can be placed on the Palestinian negotiating table, and they can be settled if the major dangers facing the PLO are taken into consideration. These issues can be settled if we take into consideration our major responsibility to



our people and their cause and if we take into consideration the advice of our Arab and international allies. As the Palestinian Communist Party, we are convinced that abrogating the Amman Agreement has to be incorporated into the Palestinian National Agreement, which should not be linked with setting a date for convening a meeting of the PNC because there are quite a few difficulties regarding convening such a meeting. We think that reaching a Palestinian national agreement will also help solve the problem of setting a date and a place for convening the council. When adopted by the Palestinian people, such a declared agreement could not only help ward off existing dangers, but it could also help overcome some administrative and other obstacles facing convening the next meeting of the PNC.

[Question] Do you believe that this is as far as Fatah's Central Committee or the Palestinian forces will go in their positions? Those people have reservations about what was accomplished at the Moscow meeting.

[Answer] Our talks with Fatah's leaders have not come to an end. In our subsequent contacts we will concentrate on the need to resolve issues and reach a final political and organizational agreement. On our part, in our talks with our colleagues in the Popular Front and in other national factions, we try to understand many of their proposals. We invite them to join us in the current process of resolving these issues and participating in efforts whose aim is to reach principles which guarantee the success of the Algerian initiative and culminate it by restoring the PLO's unity.

[Question] It seems there are numerous Palestinian parties that did not take part in the meetings which were held in Moscow. These parties have reasons for not being satisfied with the verbal pledges that were made. To justify their dissatisfaction, they cite statements that were made in the press by Fatah's Central Committee and by leadership figures who are considered part of the PLO's official leadership.

[Answer] That is true. As I said in my answer to a previous question, the political significance we ascribe to the fact that the PLO's official leaders have not abrogated the Amman Agreement is that some of those leaders are still laboring under illusions, and they are still willing to deal with American solutions that are based on the concessions mentioned in the Amman Agreement. We also still have sharp differences with Fatah's leaders about relations with Egypt. We still insist that this question be a point to be discussed in the Palestinian national dialogue. We have no illusions, and we are not inexperienced in such talks. In the course of our talks before the Aden-Algeria Agreement was signed, the same tactics were followed, and we were faced with the same phenomena. We would agree on something in Algeria, and then one official or another in the PLO's command and Fatah's command would issue a conflicting statement. We know that these leaders are subject to pressures from the Palestinian national position, on the one hand, and from the forces that are conspiring against our people and their cause, on the other. That is why we are talking with those leaders, and that is why we are trying to interfere with all the tendencies that are counting on American solutions. At this time we are setting forth our position clearly and unequivocally in front of our Palestinian people, and we are mobilizing them on that basis.

## The Dialogue Mechanism

[Question] Let's go back to the mechanism that will set the dialogue in motion. Exactly when will the Amman Agreement be abrogated? Will abrogation of that agreement be considered an overture to the dialogue, or will the agreement be abrogated in the course of the talks themselves or while the PNC is in session?

[Answer] We may get somewhat involved in formalities here. What is the Amman Agreement? It is a matter of policy, and that policy involves making concessions. The Amman Agreement is a policy that flirts with an American solution: it places its bets on it, and it has illusions about it. Yes we are struggling for the abrogation of this course of action on the Palestinian scene because it is a harmful and a destructive course. Abrogating the Amman Agreement is a sign of pulling back from that course. However, that course of action does have other manifestations. There are political differences within the ranks of Palestinian factions. The goal we hope to reach in a comprehensive national agreement is that of having an agreement which is based on a political foundation that works against the policy of the Amman Agreement. That political foundation was defined in precise terms in the 16th session of the PNC. The course of the struggle was also defined in that session. That is why we regard our principal objective as that of reaching a national agreement that reflects a course of struggle. Of course, as soon as such an agreement is adopted, we will have dealt a blow to the Amman Agreement and to the course that it engendered. That is why we see the Amman Agreement in the context of this process and as part of it. That is why we are saying that asking for the abrogation of the Amman Agreement in advance, before starting any dialogue, may delay the national dialogue and may slow down the participation of Palestinian national forces in the national dialogue. But the other side of that coin is that we also think that Fatah's current proposal to delay the abrogation of the agreement until national accord is reached constitutes foot dragging. That is why we believe that a serious position on this disputed point would precede an agenda for the comprehensive national dialogue. If this dialogue is really to be held, that problem must be settled quickly by abrogating that agreement.

[Question] You've affirmed your commitment to the resolutions of the Fes and Rabat Summit meetings, but you ignored the resolutions of the Baghdad and Amman Summit meetings which regarded Resolution 242 to be an improper foundation for settling the question of Palestine and the Middle East. The resolutions of the Baghdad and Amman Summit meetings consider Resolution 242 inconsistent with national rights.

[Answer] Actually, I discussed in my answers all the Arab summit resolutions which were reached by consensus and which pertain to the Palestinian cause. In our opposition to the attempt that is being made to implement the Camp David principles all over the Arab world, we are affirming our commitment to the Baghdad Summit resolutions. We consider the Arab parties that established relations with Egypt to have violated the resolutions they signed. These resolutions represent an Arab consensus and must be adhered to. But when I talked about the Fes resolutions, I did so to refer to attempts that are being made by some Arab regimes to disavow the Palestinian people's right to determine their own destiny and to be represented exclusively by the PLO. These rights were very clearly mentioned in the resolutions of the Fes Summit Conference.

[Question] Can you tell us how you envision the supposed national agreement from the standpoint of linking what is political with what is organizational?

[Answer] The national agreement, as we've affirmed, has to comprise a political aspect and an organizational aspect. We are concentrating, of course, on the political aspect in our discussion because the existing political dispute within the ranks of the PLO has created an organizational division. And organizational issues cannot be proposed unless this is done in the context of an organizationally united ILO. That is, the PLO has to be united politically. That is why the starting point or the first organizational task facing us is that of restoring unity to the PLO and restoring activity to its institutions, including the PNC. Before that is done, however, a step toward political unity has to be taken. Of course, subsequent organizational procedures--and we mean application of the organizational aspects of the Aden-Algeria Agreement and the democratic changes in the PLO and its institutions--could be dealt with in an ongoing process whose aim is to turn the PLO into a real national front that reflects the ambitions, hopes and proportional powers of all Palestinian classes and groups who have an interest in returning to Palestine, determining their own destiny and establishing an independent Palestinian state.

[Interviewer's comment] In the following answer Abu 'Ali Mustafa al-Amin, assistant secretary general of the PFLP defined the mission of struggle. The PFLP thinks it must emphasize the underlying assumptions for implementing that struggle.

[Answer] There is no doubt that the urgent mission--in case it is achieved--which we think is the principal ingredient in opposing American and Israeli schemes is that of restoring the PLO's unity on proper foundations of opposition to Zionism and imperialism.

There are, however, two erroneous tendencies on the Palestinian scene for dealing with this mission. One is a nihilistic tendency which views this subject as not important and unworthy of attention. Consequently, it comes to the conclusion that the required unity is the unity among the national factions only. On the opposite side there is another erroneous tendency which believes that being tolerant with the Palestinian leadership and coexisting with their policies, which are still pursuing the same course of action and following the same path, will enable us to restore unity.

Here is our view which was expressed by our political office in its most recent statement on 8/10/1986. Following the preface, the political statement contained points which we think, if achieved, will restore the PLO's unity and create a shift in the characteristics of the Palestinian scene.

The statement divided that view into three stages and arranged them in sequence according to their priority. The Amman Agreement of 11 February 1985 is to be abrogated. That agreement, which represents a strike against the substance of the national agenda, infringes upon the Palestinian people's right to be represented by the PLO, since it starts out by having others join the PLO in representing the Palestinian people and ends by having those others represent them exclusively. Abrogation of that agreement constitutes the first step to a dialogue with Fatah's Central Committee. But the policy of hesitation and



fluctuation or that which, despite everything that is going on, straddles the fence as it eyes the possibility of an American solution and seeks the backing of Egypt instead of Jordan, is a policy that does not provide a serious opportunity for reviewing this policy. When we say that abrogating this agreement constitutes a first step, we are not asking for miracles. There is a national consensus among Palestinians and Arabs and among our international allies that abrogating this agreement is essential.

If this point is taken into consideration by the PLO's executive leaders and by Fatah's Central Committee, since they are the ones responsible for that agreement--and as they say, this agreement was not made by the national council nor by any Palestinian institution or organization--and if they do acknowledge that this agreement has hurt us, then the foundation would have been laid for the second stage. The second stage would comprise discussions and talks about political and organizational issues to ensure that the situation in the PLO would be corrected. When we define these issues in accordance with the statement of our political office, we will not have come up with anything new. Also, if one looks at the statement closely and reads it carefully, we will find that it mentions the resolutions of the PNC meetings which must be adhered to and which are non-negotiable because they are resolutions. They are the ones who violated these resolutions, and we are the ones demanding adherence to them. Regarding the organizational issues, yes, we want to attain regional, national democratic relations that are controlled by provisions and conventions of doing business which reject dominance, unilateral action and manipulation of resolutions issued by the PLO's legislative or executive institutions. At the same time these provisions and conventions would put matters in their proper perspective regarding the formation of institutions according to quotas that are compatible with the actual balance of powers. Also, the leaders would have to be trustworthy and committed to the National Charter and the national agenda.

#### How Will the Problem Be Settled

That is why we are saying that the second stage, in the event it is accomplished with those organizations which will agree to join the talks, will establish the foundations for the third stage. This is the stage of the comprehensive national dialogue which will involve all the organizations and the most prominent Palestinian national figures. That dialogue will consolidate the political and organizational principles, and it will form the PNC which will be convened at an appropriate time and place. This council will be a unity council that will get the PLO out of its political and organizational crisis and will in fact actually place it in an advanced forward position in its conflict and battle with the American scheme.

We think this is how Palestinian unity can be restored. We do not think that turning one's back on this mission is the correct policy. By the same token, we think that a tolerant policy which argues for "unity at any price" is also an incorrect policy. We want this unity so it could serve a specific political objective, which is the Palestinian national agenda. We want to foil all the schemes that are trying to infringe upon the substance of this agenda.

This is what we want for the PLO. We want it to be at the forefront of the conflict; we do not want it to be a form without real substance and action. When



we refer to that, a few examples come to mind. These are things that happened while the talks in Tunis and Moscow were going on between the Democratic Front, the communist party and Fatah's Central Committee. We recall these examples to cite some rather recent political evidence which does not indicate that these leaders are serious about bringing about a political shift in the PLO's conditions. We do not want to talk about history, but there are many issues to talk about. When Bush visited Jerusalem, our people's various national organizations demanded a boycott of Bush, and they declared a strike.

What did the organization's leaders do, and how did they react to the sentiments of our masses? They issued a statement on behalf of Ahmad 'Abd-al-Rahman, the official spokesman, supporting the meeting that took place with 19 persons. They overlooked our people's sentiments, sentiments which are political and not emotional. The second example is that while Mahmud 'Abbas, member of the Central Committee and also member of the Executive Committee, was engaged in talks in Moscow, Khalil al-Wazir was engaged in talks in Cairo while an Israeli delegation and an American delegation were there. A third example: Muhammad Milhim, member of the Executive Committee, issued two serious statements in Amman. One of them approved the appointment of mayors. And everyone knows that these appointments do not mean social services, but that they have a political purpose. The second statement Milhim made supported the autonomy plan. This is a member of the Executive Committee making such statements! He makes such a statement and then goes to the Executive Committee meeting in Baghdad! There are numerous examples. That is why we believe that what was set forth in the statement of our political office is correct because it constitutes a serious position whose aim is to restore the unity of the PLO.

[Question] Based on your analysis and on your references to the historical position and to recent examples of political practices, I think that the gap between your position and the positions of those who say it is impossible to deal with Yasir 'Arafat's policy is not so big.

[Answer] Yes, [that is true] as far as substance is concerned. The confidence that these leaders will preserve the national agenda and their role in the struggle is no longer there. We do not hide that in the Popular Front, and we spoke about it even after Yasir 'Arafat traveled from Tripoli for his first visit to Cairo. At that time we took the first step of boycotting the Executive Committee. We even spoke about that in the Democratic Alliance Document. But we are facing a major national responsibility, and we do not believe that it is in our interests to tell Egypt this is your quota of the Palestinian people: take it. Quite the contrary, it is in our interests to prevent any Palestinian from following that course, even if his national contribution were 10 percent. We cannot ask people to have convictions that are identical to ours, but we can ask them for a minimum level of agreement with us based on our definition of the nature of the stage of struggle that is being waged by our people. This is a stage in which national liberation is confronting occupation. We embrace representatives of all the political and social forces. But, as I said, a minimum level of national agreement is a condition. We will continue to affirm our concern that any power or individual stick to the national course, adhere to it or even remain at its edge, but he should not follow the other course. By the way, I hope that those 19 persons are not willing to meet with George Bush because the mere existence of such symbolic figures, even though they are known,

means that the enemy will exploit them and take advantage of the conflicts within the ranks of the Palestinian people.

#### Algeria Is Concerned about Us

[Question] What do you think about what was accomplished by the Algerian initiative? Is that initiative still alive?

[Answer] We welcomed the Algerian initiative in an official statement that we issued immediately after the initiative. We welcomed the Algerian initiative because it is based on a position of concern for the unity of the PLO. But we cannot ask our fellow Algerians to show us how this unity is to be achieved. This is our business. In our correspondence with fellow Algerians we expressed our point of view, especially with regard to abrogating the Amman Agreement. But the leaders of Fatah's Central Committee impeded developments and progress in this matter because they were insisting on their previous positions. Even Yasir 'Arafat, when asked by a journalist what he thought about national unity in the light of this initiative said, "Let me correct what you just said. Don't talk to me about the question of national unity. National unity between the organization and the people does exist. What is required is that national unity be strengthened. There are organizations outside the framework. Let those organizations which got out of this framework come back to it."

That is, Yasir 'Arafat sees the Algerian initiative as an effort to make others accept his policies and proposals. He shows no positive sign of having any serious [intentions] regarding this unity. We reject this interpretation, and fellow Algerians know that. They may have delayed their initiative because they felt the matter was complicated. Fellow Algerians have not indicated that an outcome had been reached, nor did they indicate whether progress was possible or whether a dead end had been reached.

[Interview with Nayif Hawatimah, secretary general of the DFLP]

[Question] Nayif Hawatimah, secretary general of the DFLP is very knowledgeable about all Palestinian communications, particularly those that are being sponsored by friendly, Arab and international progressive forces. In that position he is involved in and informed about all the details. What does he have to say about the talks that were held in Moscow and Prague and in between?

[Answer] The commitments that were offered by Abu Mazin, Fatah's representative, have not yet been considered. We have had no negotiations yet, and we have not yet talked with the present leaders of the PLO. As you know, the present leaders are made up of Fatah members and a number of Palestinian figures. We have not yet considered these matters with those leaders. Our discussions are being held with Fatah's Central Committee. When these discussions are over and we can get to the factions that are participating in the national dialogue, then the subject will be proposed to the present leaders of the PLO. If they approve it, then the outcome of what was done in Moscow will have been considered. And here we have to note that there has been a sharp change in the Middle East, particularly after the collapse of 'Arafat's talks.

What is happening now is merely an effort to improvise on the total conditions in the Middle East and go back to what preceded the June 1974 PLO agenda. That

agenda affirmed the people's right to return to their homeland, determine their own destiny and establish an independent state. It also affirmed the resolutions that preceded the Rabat resolutions which affirm those rights. Ever since that date, the conflict has been one between a political solution, which at this stage, would fulfill Palestinian and Arab rights, and the PLO's agenda and the Rabat resolutions.

[Interviewer's comment] That is why Hawatimah says that all current attempts to sabotage the outcome of the Moscow talks serve one purpose. All this is being consciously acted out in response to American pressures and to serve the purpose of capitulatory American solutions which stipulate there is one way to settle the Middle East crisis. That way is this: settle the crisis between the Arab countries and Israel; separate the Palestinian factor completely from the Middle East crisis; and write off the PLO.

### Unity and Solidarity

Hawatimah links unity and the necessity for unity on the Palestinian scene with the achievement of Arab solidarity. In that regard he refers to the fact that officials in Democratic Yemen agree with that approach.

Mr Hawatimah says, "The talks that were held first in Aden affirmed the full support of officials in Democratic Yemen for the national dialogue. These talks affirmed that these officials were against any obstacles interfering with or creating impediments for the national dialogue. They affirmed that all factions of the Resistance had to sit at the negotiating table, and each faction would present the principles and organizational concepts it thought were necessary for the restoration of the PLO's unity. Political leaders in Aden affirmed their full support for the restoration of the PLO's unity on the basis of a national independent agenda and independent representation. They support restoration of the PLO's unity on the basis of the Aden-Algeria Agreement, the Algerian initiative and the outcome of the Moscow meeting.

"This support came out in direct statements that were issued about the meetings which took place with our colleagues in the political command in Aden. Our colleagues in Aden stated that they supported these steps, and they considered the outcome of the Moscow meeting to be a basic step forward, a step that opened all the doors to a Palestinian national dialogue by means of which the PLO's unity can be quickly restored. Our colleagues in Democratic Yemen think quite clearly that restoring the PLO's unity is the key to the possible revival of the Steadfastness Front; they see restoration of the PLO's unity as the key to the possible revival of Arab solidarity.

"The subject of Palestine is the common denominator among all the Arab countries. That is why Arab solidarity has been missing since the PLO was written off and its unity missing. By restoring that unity to the PLO, we can restore the possibility of having active solidarity among the Arabs and convening Arab summit conferences on the basis of a common agenda represented by the Rabat, Baghdad and Fes resolutions. These conferences would solve the Middle East crisis and regain the independent national rights of the Palestinian people at this stage.



"And here we have to note that during the past 4 years, since the last collective Arab Summit meeting in September 1982, the possibility of restoring Arab solidarity has been non-existent because the PLO's unity has been missing.

"We must also note that Arab summit conferences from 1964 to 1982 were based on common denominators regarding the Middle East crisis and the Palestinian cause.

"At those conferences the PLO was united. Despite al-Sadat's betrayal and Egypt's departure from the advanced position in the opposition front, summit conferences continued to be held, and resolutions were issued prior to these conferences. Although 2 years have gone by since the bloody war between Iraq and Iran broke out [sic?], summit conferences continued to be held, and the Fes plan was issued. All this affirms quite clearly that the PLO's unity is the national common denominator among all Arab countries with regard to the Middle East question and the Palestinian question."

[Question] Are you optimistic about the talks that are taking place now?

[Answer] All the meetings that are taking place now are meetings to make preparations for the comprehensive national dialogue. These meetings took steps forward, and they opened all kinds of doors to make conducting such a national dialogue possible. They removed major obstacles that stood in the way of that dialogue. The commitments that were offered by Fatah's representative in front of the Democratic Alliance and then in front of Soviet friends, in the presence of the Democratic Alliance, affirm that the possibility does exist for retracting all the destructive policies which were pursued during the past 3 years. These policies were manifested in and symbolized by the Amman Agreement. These preliminary results also affirm that the alliances between a united PLO and the forces fighting against capitulatory solutions, particularly those in advanced positions on the front, can be restored. The same is true with regard to restoring the alliances between the PLO and the forces of liberation and progress, which are fighting against imperialist domination in the Middle East. These forces are fighting for mutual and common solidarity to force America and Israel to retreat and accept an international conference on the political basis which would guarantee to the people of Palestine and the Arab nation their rights.

Preparations for the dialogue must come up with a political working paper that includes abrogation of the Amman Agreement. Talks would be started on the basis of that paper, and preparations can then be made for the National Council.

It is to be noted that this event was recorded before the announcement which was made in Prague yesterday. That announcement had to do with the fact that the Democratic Alliance and the representative of Fatah's Central Committee considered the Amman Agreement to be defunct.

Everything that has been done--preparations for abrogating the Amman Agreement; the incorporation of this comprehensive political and organizational agreement into the talks; and the preparations that were made for announcing the abrogation of the Amman Agreement in the context of the dialogue, before the new, united PNC is convened--indicates the possibility that the PLO's unity can be restored on political and organizational principles that would bar any departures from the national agenda.



[Question] To be specific, will agreement to abrogate the Amman Agreement be reached in a document that is to be drawn up before the dialogue, or will that agreement be abrogated while the talks are in progress?

[Answer] The Amman Agreement will be abrogated. Then preparations for action will be made. Preparations will then be made to announce the abrogation of that agreement from the table where the talks are being held. If matters proceed in this manner, we will win the unity of the PLO and regain Arab solidarity. If obstacles emerge, those who are trying to destroy the effort to restore the PLO's unity and Arab solidarity will be exposed once again.

[Question] When will the talks begin?

[Answer] When the preliminary political and organizational principles are resolved in a common paper. That paper will then become an invitation by means of which the dialogue can be started.

This matter depends on how promptly our colleagues in Fatah will respond so that a complete political and organizational paper can be achieved. We can then ask Arab countries that are willing to host the talks to open their doors so that the talks could be held.

[Question] Has Abu Mazin been authorized by Fatah's Central Committee to make the commitments he is making?

[Answer] Brother Abu Mazin had informed the Democratic Front and the Palestinian Communist Party, and he then informed the Soviet friends in our presence that he would be making those commitments with the permission of all of Fatah's Central Committee.

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VARIOUS ASPECTS OF DOMESTIC POLLUTION PROBLEMS REVIEWED

Riyadh AL-YAMAMAH in Arabic 6 Aug 86 pp 14-21

[Article: "Pollution: The Octopus of the Times"]

[Text] To deal honestly with the material AL-YAMAMAH is presenting in this week's lead article, you need only look out from an elevated location over an area swarming with people and their frenetic activity, al-Batha', for instance, to observe the enormous quantities of smoke rising up, propelled by people's breath, and you will wonder, along with us, what the sources of these strange interminably rising vapors are! Are they technological products, products of people's behavior or natural interactions occurring everywhere in this world? They are a mixture of them, a modern phenomenon in which no city is deficient. Indeed, they are an issue like an octopus, surrounding people everywhere, which they label "environmental pollution" without differentiating among its sources. It is unfortunate that pollution has become one of the natural, customary products of man's movement and action to acquire the progress desired in all technical, scientific and productive areas, indeed even areas of social behavior.

Here we will be trying to take hold of one side of this octopus, while frankly admitting that these sorts of issues require further media coverage and specialized treatment so that the initial steps in the direction of an integrated project to stimulate society's lungs and establish within it the elements of firm resistance which will be a nucleus capable of absorbing, filtering, settling and burying all the likelihoods that exist may be laid. Our task in this rapid treatment of the issue of pollution is twofold. First of all it is an introductory task, to help the readers re-evaluate the acuteness of sense of smell they possess and eliminate the dust or sediments that have been suspended and caused them to be less alert to the extent of the danger latent in the inhalation of alien materials. The citizen must be aware of the serious dimensions to his health from the neglect of uncivilized behavior in dealing with elements influencing the health of the environment he lives and breathes in.

As regards the second task, this is one of instigating and providing incentives, to goad scientific and executive bodies into playing their basic role in preserving the health of the environment, as well as encouraging these

bodies by introducing the public to the achievements and arrangements that have been provided to this end. They are no doubt good arrangements which draw their point of departure and dynamism from the government's interest in the health of Saudis and the Saudi environment and programs which are aimed at preserving the environment, while these programs are developed in a continuous manner so that the environment will continue to be spared pollution sources of all types.

The following bodies have contributed to portraying this picture:

The Ministry of Industry and Electricity.

The Saudi Arabian Specifications and Standards Authority.

The Secretariat of the City of Riyadh.

King 'Abd-al-'Aziz Science and Technology City.

In addition, a number of specialized professors from the Faculty of Engineering at King Sa'ud University have provided categorical definitions of the concept of pollution and talked about some results of the research which has been carried out on pollution in the city of Riyadh.

#### The Concept of Pollution

Pollution, in the view of Dr Nasir al-Mahus, is an increase in the rate of accumulation of the concentration of a specific material, whether it exists in nature in the first place or results from a chemical reaction, nuclear fission or an increase in a form of energy to an extent which affects living organisms in the form of mankind, animals and plants. For example, carbon dioxide gas exists in nature in the first place, but if its rate of concentration exceeds that which is permitted, it becomes pollution.

In viewing the part of the environment which is influenced by pollution, Dr al-Mahus breaks pollution down into three categories:

Air pollution, water pollution, and pollution of the earth. Each category has its own pollutants, but these pollutants can be broken down into two types:

The primary or initial pollutant, and the secondary pollutant.

The former arises directly from factories, cars, refineries, and power plants and the second arises from the interaction of some products of primary pollution with gases which exist in the air in the first place; from this, other materials harmful to man are engendered.

Dr 'Abd-al-'Aziz al-Tamimi and Dr Khalid al-Duwayli' add that when gases which originally are to be found in the atmosphere interact with gases as gases in the form of sulphur particles produced from the primary pollution, and when rain falls, they are converted into acids and consequently form a kind of corrosion, such as that which exists in the Eastern Province owing

to the concentrated presence of refineries, as well as the presence of a humid climate.

There are pollution sources of a chemical character, such as automobile and engine exhausts in general and those of electric power plants, which burn oil or coal, petroleum refineries and plants, as well as radioactive pollutants which are caused by nuclear reactors. A natural source of radioactive pollution is called environmental radiation; there are two sources of this:

First, rocks which contain radioactive particles and can be found in concentration in some areas of earth such as uranium mines or the element of uranium and around which it is therefore not recommended that one live.

Second, rays generated by nuclear reactions in the sun and other stars. The sun consists of a great hydrogen reactor comprised of nuclear reactions of the type called fusion reactions. The sun separates some of these rays and transmits them throughout this great universe. However, the presence of the atmospheric shield constitutes a layer of insulation which protects man from receiving some radiation materials which pollute the environment.

#### An Increase in the Level of Lead

The rate of pollution in the kingdom varies from one place to another. Dr Khalid al-Duwayli' refers to a field study the Civil Engineering faculty at King Saud University carried out in some streets of the city of Riyadh. The study proved that the level of lead in the air is double the internationally permitted amount on weekdays from Saturday to Wednesday. Also, owing to the geography of the kingdom, embodied in the existence of desert areas in which sand is plentiful, there is natural pollution from dust generated by storms and seasonal winds, in addition to household garbage, which is left open for long periods in the day. The high-density al-Batha' area is considered one of the areas exposed to the lead level and in addition there is the effect of dust coming from cement plants as far as the south Riyadh area in general is concerned.

#### Asbestos

There are two threats to pollution which can be avoided. The first concerns household garbage: citizens must put garbage in sealed bags in front of houses so that it will be taken to its designated areas at the appropriate time and will not be exposed to a number of elements which will cause it to rot and consequently be harmful to people passing by.

Secondly, there is a material used in construction known as asbestos, which over the long term causes cancer. This is often used in ceilings or as decoration. Its use as pipes for water has been prohibited. The presence of asbestos in buildings may lead to the inhalation of asbestos particles, and consequently it constitutes a danger to man. There are countries which have set out laws and rules to limit the spread of this material, and such exist in the kingdom.

However, to reassure citizens, Dr Nasir al-Mahus says that this material has been found in the ceilings of houses and buildings or out in the open, where



air circulates over a 24-hour period, and does not constitute a threat. However, if it is in rooms with poor ventilation or in the form of pipes, by the nature of the case it will be dangerous to man.

#### Recommendations To Limit Pollution

In order to reduce the foreseeable and unforeseeable dangers from pollution, the specialized professors offer a number of recommendations which they consider it necessary to follow.

Of necessity, eliminating lead in gasoline used as automobile fuel.

Using new equipment and machinery, reducing pollution.

Treating such pollutants as garbage and sewers, for example, in order to make use of them.

Placing special filters in factory smokestacks and automobile exhaust pipes and raising exhaust pipes in the case of diesel vehicles.

Creating further green spaces and encouraging the planting of trees.

Carrying out a good pollution survey in the kingdom and seeking to benefit from the experiences of other countries in combatting pollution.

These participants submitted an appeal to all the government bodies concerned with protecting the environment on the need to use the studies and research work the research center in the Faculty of Engineering at King Saud University performs.

Among the research the university prepares, we might mention the following important activities:

Dust sedimentation in the city of Riyadh, its rates, chemical components and effect.

Air pollution inside and outside buildings in the city of Riyadh.

Measurement of the carbon monoxide concentration derived from automobile exhaust and the design of models for computing anticipated concentrations on the main roads of the city of Riyadh.

Study of the effect of toxic soils and acid gases derived from fuel combustion on the city of Riyadh.

#### Industrial Conditions

After this rapid review of some of the efforts exerted in the area of scientific research, let us move on to a presentation of the precautions imposed on executive bodies, since the programs that have been set out to protect the health of the environment from the dangers resulting from industrial wastes include the establishment of industrial cities outside the framework

of population agglomerations. In preparing the studies and plans bearing on industrial cities and the distribution of factories within these cities, the conclusions the experts of advanced industrial countries have reached to ensure preservation of the health of the environment have been taken into consideration.

AL-YAMAMAH contacted the Ministry of Industry to introduce the reader to the most important conditions which are taken into consideration in the design of factories, in order to ensure preservation of the environment from any pollution which might result from them. For instance:

The appropriate site is chosen from the standpoint of wind direction and the type of wastes engendered by them.

Factory owners undertake to dispose of their factory wastes which can be burned in order and incinerated in places set aside for the combustion of wastes.

Air purification masks are provided in factories where there are concentrated sources of smoke or gases emitted from ovens, and so forth.

High technology must be used in the case of machinery and equipment, so that no pollution will be emitted by it.

There is no doubt that the factory owners' feeling that the conditions which are set out to preserve the environment will ultimately revert to the realization of their interests and will make them anxious to apply these conditions. They are Saudi citizens who like others are subjected to the effects of a polluted environment; on the other hand, factory owners' interests are realized when they have productive workers who are free from exposure to diseases that arise from the pollution of the environment as a result of industrial wastes. When factory owners present applications for permits for their factories, they are requested to present a thorough description of the quality and quantity of industrial wastes, be they gases, steam or solids, with the provision that means for disposing of them be described in detail. Will our factories commit themselves to what they have previously undertaken, or does the rush for gains in profits blind some people to these requirements?

As to the ministry, it has the role of conducting followup through the industrial cities' departments to make sure that the conditions are met. For example:

The ministry has established industrial sewage water treatment plants in the industrial cities to reuse this water for industrial uses whose nature permits this or to irrigate green areas where they are situated within industrial cities.

The ministry also encourages the establishment of industrial projects which contribute to the solution of problems arising from the pollution of the environment. These are projects which produce materials by which the condition of the environment can be improved to a large extent, such as bioethyl

ether (MTBE), which is added to gasoline in the place of lead compounds which produce toxic materials upon combustion.

The ministry participates as a key member of the anti-pollution committee. It also participates with some other bodies and scientific centers in the kingdom in studying problems of the environment throughout the kingdom and finding appropriate solutions to them.

#### Automobiles Are the Most Influential Factors for Pollution

Any change which occurs as far as the three major elements of the environment (air, water and soil) are concerned and causes harm to any living organism is considered pollution of the environment. These changes occur under the effect of natural elements or elements which man creates. Before the era of industrial resurgence, the elements of change were limited; they started gradually to increase with the constant development and increasing expansion of factories and industrial products, to the point where the pollution that resulted from them came to constitute a major area of modern societies' concerns. Therefore, it is possible to say that industry itself, its wastes and the effects it creates are among the most important pollutants of the environment. The degree of pollution depends on the type of industry concerned. Materials rising with smoke which fall on surrounding towns may contain materials which harm living organisms, such as sulphur gases or carbon, and affect man, animals and plants, and some of them might affect the fertility of the soil and contain more dangerous materials such as lead, arsenic or other compounds. The case is similar with drainage water produced by these industries, which may lead to damage to the soil, water pollution or other effects. More dangerous wastes have been generated in our current era after the tendency toward the use of nuclear power began, since the wastes are now among the most complex problems facing the protection of the environment. On top of that, some radioactive materials are used in many activities, workers have been exposed to them, or the products produced or the environment are exposed to this newly-created danger. Getting rid of their wastes is a complicated matter; it takes many years for these wastes to shed their radioactivity.

Perhaps one of the most important elements causing pollution of the environment here are cars. Their ability to exert an effect lies in their filling the horizons around us with pollutants which flow directly into our chests. In addition, the composition of the air surrounding us changes in a manner which leads to damage to living things and affects all the elements of the environment.

#### Specifications and Standards

Because of the differences and diversity in the sources of pollution, there is need for coordination among the various government bodies which play a role in the struggle, in terms of imposing suitable legislation or following up on its execution. The Saudi Arabian Specifications and Standards Authority is one of the main bodies, by virtue of the nature of its tasks. One of the authority's basic goals is to preserve public health and safety and protect the consumer; these are goals which in our view can be realized only by preserving the health of the environment.

We contacted the authority for a definition of the tasks for which it is responsible and an understanding of the elements of coordination with other entities.

The authority pointed out that it has issued about 28 standard specifications related to industrial safety and health which have the goal of protecting workers in industry from its dangers and protecting the surrounding environment from pollution by smoke, wastes or industrial exhausts. They also have the goal of protecting the environment in general from various dangers of pollution by industrial products. When specifications are prepared for a given commodity, such as cars, for example, the specifications stipulate the level of pollutants engendered by combustion and upon the preparation of specifications for chemical or food commodities, or commodities of any type whatever which can be exposed to pollution during the process of manufacture or handling (such as the pollution of a food product which occurs from the residues of insecticides, for example), or can be a cause of pollution of the environment, such as aerosol products or insecticides, for example, the specifications are concerned with defining the suitable methods for dealing with such a possibility.

From the standpoint of coordination, there is no doubt that agencies exist which are connected with this activity, including the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of Industry and the Department of Meteorology and Environmental Protection. The authority also shares in membership in the committee to coordinate the protection of the environment which is headed by His Royal Highness Prince Sultan Ibn 'Abd-al-'Aziz, second deputy prime minister, minister of defense and aviation and inspector general. That is a committee to coordinate the activities of the ministries and agencies concerned with this area. The authority sends drafts of specifications to the entities concerned bearing on protection of the environment to study them and express views on them, while making sure that its drafts are compatible with quality standards for the main elements of the environment (water, air and soil).

#### Lead in Gasoline Inhibits Growth in Children

The lead present in gasoline used as automobile fuel, as we have mentioned, is considered one of the most important and dangerous pollutants of the environment here in the kingdom. Do drafts of specifications concerned with treatment of this material exist? In its reply, the authority says that it has devoted special care to the issue of cars, because of its direct hazard to health, by pursuing the following steps:

"We have prepared about 15 standards specifications and draft specifications to combat pollution from cars. As far as the proportion of lead in gasoline goes, the authority considers that its hazards are not confined to its toxic effects, which increase as the course of its accumulation in human blood increases to the degree where it reaches the danger point, indeed has a grave effect on the mental growth of children.

"In this area, the authority has issued specifications on the permitted limits in the environment of vapor pollution produced by cars equipped with gasoline engines. It has also issued two standard specifications for



estimating the percentage of lead in gasoline and is preparing studies to complete carrying out the gasoline draft, in which it has set the percentage of lead at about 84 millimeters per liter, to conform to the conditions of domestic refineries. A group of domestic agencies such as the Department of Meteorology and Environmental Protection, the General Petroleum and Mineral Authority (Petromin), the authority and others are carrying out a group of studies aimed at setting out a general plan gradually to reduce the percentage of lead present in gasoline, preparatory to producing gasoline which is free of lead in the near future, God willing."

### The Other Side of Technology

However, even with sound planning and programming, and coordination regarding all activities related to the safety of the environment, pollution might occur by attrition from some unseen flaws in the campaign plan or as a result of disasters (may God not permit that), such as those which occur in many countries of the world, which we hear or read about through the media. Indeed, the kingdom is considered one country which has been in the forefront in cooperating and offering urgent aid to countries that have been harmed.

We are now living in the era of science and technology, in which man has realized massive achievements that have had many positive effects on people's lives.

However, Dr 'Abdallah al-Qadahi, the vice-chairman of King 'Abd-al-'Aziz Science and Technology City, believes that this technology has negative effects in the area of environmental health and pollution, because of pollution of the air from automobile exhaust, factory smoke and accumulated wastes and the effects of insecticides.

He then said, "The problem of environmental pollution, with its gradual destructive effect, is not all there is. God has wished terrible catastrophes to occur sometimes and afflict certain areas, from which arise gross losses of lives, property and benefits, in addition to subsequent effects, which appear only over the long range. The tragedy of the Indian city of Bhopal is not far from us; there, toxic gas seeped out of the Union Carbide insecticide plant, killed more than 2,500 people and afflicted more than 150,000 others with ulcerations of the eyes and a number of severe ailments, and death rained down on many people at every moment.

"The same with the recent incident which occurred in the Soviet Union with the fire in the nuclear reactor in Chernobyl, which caused a major commotion over the use of nuclear reactors and nuclear power in general. As is well known, large quantities of airborne radioactive materials permeated into the atmosphere because of the incident of the Soviet reactor, since the winds carried these lightweight materials over great distances, to become what is called nuclear dust falling with the rain, leading to pollution of water, plants and open crops and consequently the pollution of livestock grazing on these plants. Through the use of the products of this livestock in the form of milk and meat, or polluted crops, these radioactive materials are then transmitted to people, threatening their lives with risk because this

radiation interacts with the components of living cells, resulting in their ionization.

"As a consequence, these cells suffer from delayed division, the occurrence of hereditary changes or death. Among the well-known effects of radiation is exposure to cancer, a change in genetic characteristics, the affliction of the nervous system and other ailments. Therefore, countries which are affected by radioactive dust proscribe polluted crops, livestock and livestock products, which they destroy."

#### The Kingdom's Atmosphere Has Not Been Affected by Nuclear Dust

In his conversation with AL-YAMAMAH, Dr al-Qadahi pointed out that King 'Abd-al-'Aziz Science and Technology City has had constant contact with the International Atomic Agency and specialized bodies to learn about the movement of radioactive dust from Chernobyl, its components and everything related to it. On the basis of the conclusions of the committee assigned by his highness to monitor the incident and its effects on the kingdom, which includes representatives of the city, the Ministries of Health and Commerce, some Saudi universities, the Meteorology and Environmental Protection Department and the Saudi Arabian Specifications and Standards Authority, it became apparent that the kingdom's atmosphere was not affected by nuclear dust and the safety of the environment was not affected by any radioactive pollution, due to the following factors:

The reports of the Department of Meteorology and Environmental Protection concerning the atmospheric condition that prevailed over the area of the reactor as well as the atmosphere of the kingdom since the start of the incident, indicating the presence of south winds which pushed the radioactive clouds toward the north and northwest, toward the countries of Europe and away from the atmosphere of the kingdom.

The city, in coordination with some universities, performed measurements of radiation levels in a direct fashion relative to the areas of the measurements.

The city asked the Ministry of Health and the King Faysal Specialized Hospital to perform studies on the sedimentation levels of the radioactive iodine 131 element in thyroid glands in various areas of the kingdom. The results of these studies confirmed that the radioactivity level was less than the internationally permitted minimum and did not constitute a threat to public health.

King 'Abd-al-'Aziz City financed a number of research works connected with pollution of the environment which a number of specialists in the kingdom's universities carried out. Among these research works were:

A detailed study on solid wastes in the Dhahran-al-Dammam-al-Khubar area, which the Civil Engineering Department in the College of Petroleum and Minerals' Engineering Faculty carried out. The research took 2 years. The scientific importance of this study is embodied in helping the municipalities, government departments and the public in general set out the basis for

planning ways of collecting wastes and disposing of them in proper, healthy scientific ways.

The diagnosis of such solid wastes in the city of Jiddah. The Department of Civil Engineering in the King 'Abd-al-'Aziz University Engineering Faculty carried this study out, and the research period took 2 years.

The basic goal in this study was an analysis of the characteristics of solid wastes in the city of Jiddah in terms of their physical composition and the quantity and concentration of humidity with changes in locations and seasons of the year. It describes the current status of solid waste collection and disposal methods and the presentation of an optimum method for collecting and reusing these wastes and disposing of them.

#### The Role of the Secretariats

The secretariat of the city of Riyadh, like other city secretariats, is also considered an executive body which is concerned with protection of the environment.

It performs this role through the General Department of Environmental Health, which a number of related departments are subordinate to, and the environmental health sections present in all outlying municipalities throughout the kingdom.

In this regard, his excellency the deputy secretary of the city of Riyadh, Eng Muhammad Al al-Shaykh, tried to shed some light on the secretariat's contributions, which are embodied in the performance of these related departments, and said, "The Food Department has the task of supervising the safety and health of foodstuffs of various kinds, whether they exist in the markets, warehouses, refrigerators or preparation and processing sites. This department functions through special committees, each one of which is headed by an environmental health specialist, with the participation of a group of doctors, veterinarians and health overseers.

"Through this activity, the secretariat performs a role more closely attached to the citizens' daily life and the pattern followed in food consumption. Each of the committees formed has the task of supervising the construction of the stores which lie under its responsibility, such as storehouses, restaurants, kitchens, butchers' shops, bakeries and factories, alongside clinics and specialized laboratories which perform the task of disclosure and constant followup.

"There is a health prevention department whose goal is to protect the health of the environment and people in the city and conduct coordination and cooperation with the agencies responsible for public health.

"The same tasks which lie on the General Environmental Health Department are the responsibility of the environmental health departments in the outlying municipalities, within the context of their geographical boundaries and their available resources."

Through this rapid review of the tasks of the agencies, including their scientific and executive branches, we have portrayed the form of the context

of coordination that exists among the agencies concerned with combatting pollution on behalf of the citizen. Although these agencies perform their role with record efficiency, when compared with similar agencies in other countries, it is our duty to point out that the octopus of pollution requires constant alertness, technical preparation, human staffs and specialized scientific organizations to offer thorough studies in this area and simplify scientific summaries and results of research so that the applied and executive bodies can carry out their desired role.

AL-YAMAMAH will try in the course of the coming issues to present this issue again in a more specific framework, concerned with the elements of pollution in our environment and the health and environmental dangers which are latent in the presence of these polluting elements.

11887

CSO: 4404/512



OFFICIAL DISCUSSES TRANSPORTATION PROJECTS IN HADRAMAWT

Aden AL-SHARARAH in Arabic 20 Aug 86 p 4

[Text] Comrade Salih 'Abdallah al-'Amiri, member of the executive office of the local People's Assembly in Hadramawt Province, and secretary of the Department of Transportation, talked about the accomplishments achieved in the field of transportation between the two elections. He said: "Like other sectors, the transportation sector has been given attention during the past three years by the party and the government. Many investments have been made within the scope of the development plan to implement several important projects in this field. According to the plans and programs of the party organization and the province's local People's Assembly, attention was given to the condition of the transportation sector's establishments and their activities, since the various other economic sectors could not do without transportation services."

He continued: "In the area of land transportation, an effort was made to improve the fleet of the local land transportation establishment. Several measures were taken and regulations were established in order to operate the fleet more efficiently. Based on the directives of the committee of the party organization in the province, and as a primary task, more emphasis was placed on the transportation of goods. These efforts have generally resulted in successes for the establishment. In 1983, for instance, the goods transported by the establishment's fleet reached 45,178 tons, representing 64 percent of all goods transported. In 1985, transported goods reached 76,551 tons, representing 80 percent of all goods transported. [The progress] is also evident through the establishment's activity in transportation of passengers. In 1983, the establishment's fleet transported 1,292,096 passengers. Last year, 2,594,880 passengers were transported by the establishment's buses. This coincided with the expansion of the establishment's services in order to reach several cities of the province, such as al-Dis, Haridah, al-Hami, etc. The establishment further provided transportation for students and employees in al-Makla, al-Shahar, and Say'un.

Comrade Salih al-'Amiri pointed out that these successes have been reflected in the establishment's profits which rose from 530,000 dinars in 1983 to 998,402 dinars in 1985. Some maintenance units at the workshops have been

modernized and, now, all maintenance work takes place in the establishment's workshop. It was announced that a warehouse for spare parts and a private gas station are being built.

#### Maritime Transport From Achievement To Achievement

With regard to maritime transportation, the comrade and secretary of the Transportation Department at the executive office of the province's local People's Assembly said: "Perhaps the most distinguished achievement in this field has been the completion of the first phase of the Khalaf harbor project and the initiation of the partial operation phase in January 1985. This achievement has made a difference in the activities of maritime transportation establishments due to the direct docking of ships. This has increased the speed of unloading ships and has consequently saved large sums of money. Under this project many new machines and tools, including forklifts and tugs, have been provided. The accomplishments that have been achieved in this area are evident through the volume of goods unloaded in the harbor: 185,415 tons of dry goods and 80,765 tons of liquid goods in 1983, and about 247,928 tons of dry goods and 95,590 tons of liquid goods in 1985.

He added: "Furthermore, the financial activity for the maritime transport establishments' sector in the province has improved. The harbor division had a 281,043 dinar profit in 1985 compared to 223,631 dinars in 1983. The National Maritime Company's branch in al-Makla realized a profit of 774,224 dinars last year compared to 738,996 dinars in 1983. The Yemen Sealine branch realized a profit of about 93,559 dinars last year compared to 63,955 dinars in 1983. It must be pointed out that the second phase of the Khalaf harbor construction started early this year. The construction of the third dock is expected to start this year. The realization of these projects will doubtlessly increase the harbor's activity."

#### What About Air Transport?

Comrade Salih al-'Amiri said: "Air transportation has significantly improved in the province during the past three years, and specifically, since the new Rayan airport went into service. [The improvement] is due to the efforts made by the Civil Aeronautics Administration and the supply of the airport with the tools and equipment that are necessary for air safety and security. The introduction of the Boeing 737 airplanes to the Yemen fleet and the regulation of internal flights and direct overseas flights from Rayan airport are factors that have contributed to a great improvement in the air transportation activity. The number of passengers travelling from Rayan airport increased to 104,152 passengers in 1985 compared to 57,305 passengers in 1983. This shows the improvement that has been witnessed in this field, and primarily in internal transport which has facilitated the citizen's travel from the Wadi directorates and from Mehra province.

The Comrade and secretary of the Transportation Department at the executive office of the province's local People's Assembly, referred to the improvement that has been achieved in the field of post and telecommunications. He explained that the post office has expanded its services to cover all the

that a post office is currently being built at al-Qutn. As part of improving the postal service, postal boxes have been centralized at the main offices. He said that the accomplishments have been accompanied by an increase in postal activity from 203,105 postal articles in 1983 to 323,543 postal articles in 1985. Comrade Salih al-'Amiri declared that the number of telephone lines in the province will increase from 2,800 lines to 10,000 lines when 7,200 lines are added after the completion of the project of mobile telephone exchanges which was started last year. He said that upon the completion of this project and the central microwave project, transformation will occur in the activities of the agency's branch in the province.

13314/13104

CSO: 4404/504

## VILLAGE JIRGAHS PROVIDING ASSISTANCE TO CITIZENS

Kabul ANIS in Dari 4 Aug 86 pp 1-2

[Text] During the current year the Provincial Council of the NFF of Oruzgan has held several tribal assemblies [Jirgahs] where the lofty and humanitarian goals of the party, the government and the National Fatherland Front have been explained and described to the people.

A source from the Provincial Council of the NFF of Oruzgan talking to ANIS correspondent stated: During the first four months of the current year 38 tribal assemblies have been held by the Provincial Council at the headquarters of the council and in various mosques where leading personalities of such tribes as Barkazi, Popalzi, Achkazi, Nowrazi and leaders of other tribes who reside in this province participated in these gatherings. At the aforementioned assemblies, the responsible officials of the NFF Provincial Council explained the decisions and resolutions of the 17th, 18th and 19th plenums of the PDPA Central Committee to the present audience. Here it should be noted that the very fact of forming or organizing these gatherings has played an effective and remarkable role in solidifying and buttressing the spirit of brotherliness among the various tribes of the province and more than ever before it has helped to strengthen the bonds of allegiance between the people. Similarly, through the medium of such gatherings and elucidation of the goals of the party and government many of the deceived individuals who had been deviated by the poisonous propaganda of the enemies of the nation and the revolution, after becoming familiar with the true intentions of the revolution, joined the ranks of other hard-working people.

In answer to a question regarding the activities of the above-stated assemblies, the source said: Within the framework of the NFF Provincial Council of Oruzgan there is one city council, one district and two village councils. The total provincial membership is 1,751 of which 1,526 belong to group members.

The above-stated source went on to add: In order to assist the hard-working farmers, the Provincial Council during the earlier part of the current year arranged four volunteer work teams to clean and repair waterways. In addition to the farmers who participated in these volunteer work teams, many other hard-working individuals such as businessmen, students and some intellectuals also took part and as a result of these general endeavors a great deal of help was provided to the farmers in cleaning or dredging the water-channels. Furthermore, in June of the current year when it was harvest season for the province of Oruzgan, two extensive volunteer work teams were organized by the NFF Provincial Council



to assist the farmers in harvesting their crops. This initiative by the NFF Provincial Council and general public's participation in gathering of harvest crop was greatly appreciated by the hard-working farmers.

Moreover, during the current year other volunteer work teams were organized by the NFF of Oruzgan Province for cleaning and painting of the Friday mosques of Bazaar, Hazarah and that of Mohammad Sarvar Khan. The aforementioned source further added: During the current year three new literacy courses have been formed by the Provincial Council in the villages of Qal'achah, Qal'ashir Oruzgani and Tavri where 60 students are enrolled in the classes. It should be noted here that these courses are taught by volunteer intellectuals and other educated individuals.

The NFF Provincial Council plays an active role in securing the peace and security of the people and members of the NFF are always ready to defend our country twenty-four-hours a day. Likewise, the Provincial Council is always ready to provide assistance and resolve people's difficulties. For instance, during the current year it has provided proper assistance in arranging the transfer of 30 patients to the Trinkut city hospital for treatment.

12719

CSO: 4665/58

## NFF VILLAGE COUNCILS PERFORMING VARIOUS TASKS

Kabul ANIS in Dari 6 Aug 86 pp 1-2

[Text] The Provincial Council of the National Fatherland Front [NFF] of Herat Province as an important socio-political and highly popular organization was established in December 1981 in order to realize the ideals of the people and to strengthen the foundation of the revolutionary rule of the hard-working strata and achieve national solidarity. For more than four years, all the useful national, social, economic and missionary [propagandistic] activities for the benefit of the country and the revolution and mobilization of the masses from the farthest corner of the land have been directed toward the happiness, progress and development of the people are examples of some of the remarkable services of this front.

Mohammad Yusef Vatanyar, deputy director of the NFF Provincial Council of Herat Province in an interview with our correspondent in Herat while making the above statement also said: On the provincial council level the NFF of Herat has a total of 36,475 members which are formed of 205 councils: Two provincial and city councils, five ward councils, 12 district councils, two subdistrict councils, 126 village councils and 151 housing councils. Since the formation of the first councils, 466 heroic members have joined the armed forces, 123 members have joined the ranks of the PDPA, 197 members have joined the border militia and 658 members have been introduced to various social organizations by the pertinent councils.

He further stated: As a result of the contacts and collaboration of the various councils many of the people from the districts of Gozarah, Anjil, Edraskan, Karakh, Kashak, Golran and Kahasan who had been deceived by the enemy and abandoned their homes and businesses, returned to their homes and joined their revolutionary government. Similarly, many of the eligible young men joined the army to serve and defend their country and the achievements of the revolution. Right now, there are 12 peace assemblies on the regional and district level and, according to the guidance of the Central Council of the NFF of the DRA, they carry out their duties in collaboration with the party, government and security organs.

As regards the propaganda work and activities of the aforementioned front, the deputy director of the Provincial Council stated: During the same period 1,133 meetings have been held where government and party policy and decisions of the various assemblies and resolutions of the plenums, particularly those of the 19th plenum of the PDPA Central Committee were explained to 178,850 individuals.

Accordingly, reasonable demands and requests of the people were collected and properly directed to the responsible officials for final resolution.

In the arena of the fight against illiteracy this front also plays an important role, so much so that in 57 literacy courses formed and directed by the front 540 students are enrolled who are being taught by 56 teachers and other members of the NFF. So far 75 students have graduated from these courses, and work toward the elimination of illiteracy as an urgent national task is being pursued by the front members.

Likewise, a commission composed of 91 theologians has been created in the city of Herat and Shindand district, and members of this commission conduct various affairs for the people pertaining to endowment and similar matters according to the religious law and Islamic rules. Thus far according to the projected plan, this commission has held prayer meetings for 27,950 persons throughout the mosques and religious centers where, in conformity with the 19th plenum's resolution and party and government policy, speeches are made by the commission members.

Furthermore, the National Fatherland Front has arranged 332 half-hour radio programs for the Herat broadcasting station and similarly prepared 102 articles for publication in the ETEFAQ-E ESLAM newspaper and on 52 occasions conducted political publicity campaigns.

As regards the economic activities the above-mentioned source said: Until now 121 volunteer work teams have been formed with the participation of 20,549 persons and people have donated 80,795 afghanis to this organization in order to strengthen and solidify the position of the NFF of Herat. In a similar manner, the NFF has distributed 25,000 afghanis in aid among invalids and other family members of the martyrs.

He went on to add: In order to resolve family disputes, 19 commissions and 18 consultation associations have been formed which have so far resolved 138 disputes and feuds. Similarly, in order to implement the democratic land reform and justly distribute water among the farmers, 131 members of the NFF of Herat have been introduced to the Farmers' Councils who have actively become involved in realizing the just distribution of land and water. To this end, 12 water distributors and assistant water distributors have been selected. Also, 579 petitions and 85 letters have been answered by this front and a sum of 626,171 afghanis as membership dues of the NFF members have been collected and deposited in the relevant account.

12719

CSO: 4665/58

## HEAVY INDUSTRY EXPORTS TO YIELD MILLIONS IN FOREIGN EXCHANGE

Tehran JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI in Persian 29 Jul 86 p 11

[Interview with deputy for projects and planning of the Ministry of Heavy Industries by JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI in Yazd; date not specified]

[Text] Yazd, JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI correspondent. In order to fight the reduction in the price of oil, during the course of this year, about \$100 million will be gained in revenues for the Islamic Republic of Iran through exports by the Ministry of Heavy Industries.

The deputy for projects and planning of the Ministry of Heavy Industries, who had traveled to Yazd Province, announced the above statement in an exclusive interview with our correspondent and, referring to the oil price reduction conspiracy by some of the countries affiliated with the oppressors, he said: This conspiracy caused the Islamic Republic of Iran to make large scale plans in the area of self-sufficiency in industrial agricultural products and the export of goods and agricultural products abroad, and, by making provisions, to create a market for the export of these goods in some countries of the world. He added: In this area, the Ministry of Heavy Industries has determined that a significant amount of foreign exchange revenues will be brought in for the Islamic Republic of Iran this year through the export of agricultural machinery, busses, minibusses, motorcycles, train cars, and dozens of other industrial products.

Referring to the major goals of the Ministry of Heavy Industries in regards to operating the industries and industrial units over the past three years, he said: One of the goals of this Ministry from its inception was to create self-sufficiency, severing dependency. And, in this regard, by creating positive incentives for investments in the industries sector, great progress has been made throughout the country. In fact, in the past three years, nearly 550 agreements in principle have been issued by this ministry, 300 billion rials have been made in fixed investments and about 70,000 people have been employed.

He added: At the present, considering the shortages that have occurred as a result of the decrease in oil revenues and the reduction in currency, this ministry has had to establish priorities in connection with the creation of new industrial projects and to chose projects that will become operational



sooner and require less currency. In this connection, the Ministry of Heavy Industries will spend its currency share for these projects. He added: What is certain is that if we are to face the decrease in oil prices and currency restrictions at this sensitive juncture, in order to improve the industrial structure of the country, we must study the situation of industries that are strongly dependent on foreign countries and must be omitted from the consumption model of our society, and, ultimately, make decisions about their production. Of course, the issue of stopping production in such factories has been addressed in the 1365 [21 March 1986-20 March 1987] plans of this ministry.

The deputy minister of projects and planning of the Ministry of Heavy Industries strongly denied the rumor concerning the dismissal of employees and workers of the factories in the country and said: I dare say that there is no such decision to dismiss anyone from the factories. However, recently, in some of the factories, a plan called "volunteers for exemption from service" is being implemented, which corrects the wrong composition of the personnel and employees who were employed before the revolution in an uncontrolled manner.

He said: The workers of some of the factories in the country have greatly welcomed the announcement of this plan, and according to the latest reports from Iran vehicle factory, so far, 6,500 persons have declared their willingness to be exempt from service in the factories.

Enumerating the benefits of those subject to this plan, he said: The benefits determined for the employees and workers in this plan include, in addition to an amount that will be given to them for their service over several years, a loan of up to 50,000 rials, which will also be granted to them. If these individuals go and begin to work in their own cities and villages and bring a certificate of employment from the Islamic council of the city or village, this loan will be given to them as a gift.

He pointed out: Most of the workers of the Iran vehicle factory consist of rice farmers from the north who left their cities and villages during the reign of the tyrant and started working in this factory without any control.

In the conclusion of this interview, the deputy for projects and planning of the Ministry of Heavy Industries said in regards to the implementation of the textile machinery manufacturing plan in Yazd Province: Because of the problems and difficulties that have occurred in the course of the implementation of this project in Yazd Province, it was not decisively agreed to, but in the meetings which we had in the presence of revered Ayatollah Khatami, the representative of the imam and Friday imam of Yazd, and the governor general of this province, these problems have been resolved and we hope to break grounds for this project on a 40-hectare plot of land in the city of Yazd on the Ghadir-e Khom holiday.

He explained the level of investments made for this project and its production level and added: To create this project, 8 billion rials have been invested by the Industries and Mines Bank and it will have 1,000 cloth-weaving machines

in production annually. Once in operation, it will employ 600 brothers and sisters in Yazd. In addition, with the implementation of this project in this province, the lumber, plastic and molding and foundry industries of this province will also increase significantly.

He said: This project will also have a training center in which about 100 technicians and engineers will be trained and employed to serve the society. The agreement for this project is ready, and it is projected that it will become operational within the next three years.

10,000

CSO: 4640/475

**MANNER OF SELECTING FIELDS OF STUDY ANNOUNCED**

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 3 Aug pp 1, 18

[Text] The manner of selecting fields of study, considering the results of the general and specialized examination stated in the grade sheets, as well as identifying higher education fields in the test groups of the applicants for the national entrance examination were announced.

This information, which has been published in Booklet No 4, will be distributed from 14 Mordad [5 August] through the branches of Saderat Bank.

In order to help familiarize the applicants with the information, KEYHAN publishes portions of this booklet. Applicants are advised to carefully study Booklets Nos 1, 3 and 4 before completing the form for field selection in order to be able to have a better chance in regards to the ranking they have acquired for admission to the universities and institutions of higher learning.

One section of this booklet states:

1. Applicants may be admitted a maximum of two times to the standard selection examination, which will be carried out in concentrated or non-concentrated forms, and to be introduced to related centers of higher learning.
2. Those admitted to the selection examination in the 1365-66 [1986-87] academic year, regardless of whether or not they register in the related higher education institution, even if they announce their decision not to continue their education, will not have the right to register and participate in the selection examination for the 1366-67 [1987-88] academic year.
3. Transfers or changes in the place of education or changes in the field of study have been extremely restricted, with consideration for the related bylaws, which have been included in the guide to select fields of study.

In order to make the best of this situation, applicants are advised to select their field of study carefully, according to their interests and with consideration for their physical and mental situation, before receiving their grade sheets, while they have the opportunity to choose their field of study.

This pamphlet has been prepared in four sections. The first section concerns the manner of selecting fields of study. The second section includes the capacity and the codes regarding the fields of study of the universities and institutions of higher learning included in the guide to the selection of fields of study (Booklet No 3) and the necessary corrections. The third section includes the regulation requirements and instructions for participation in non-concentrated fields of study. And the fourth section is an introduction to university fields of study in the various test categories of the selection examination.

#### How to Receive and Send Grade Sheets

The student selection examination grade sheet and the selection of field of study forms will be distributed according to the city which is the present place of residence of the applicant, as stated in the registration application form.

Also, for the information of applicants concerning their educational situation in the general and special student selection examination in the 1365-66 [1986-87] academic year, the grade sheets containing raw grades and the rank of various subjects in the above-mentioned examination, the ranking of each applicant in the test group and the related percentile will be put at his disposal in order to prepare him to make a choice, with the knowledge of the test grades and his ranking.

#### Selection of Field of Study Form

Every applicant this year may choose 14 fields of study. In filling out the code of the fields of study in the concentrated form, for every selection, three columns are provided. Every column indicates one of the numbers that comprise the code for the selected field of study. The applicant must first write in the code for his selected field of study, each of which has three digits, in the proper place, which is divided into three numbered parts. Under each selection, blacken the square for the corresponding number with a soft lead pencil.

Also, applicants interested in taking part in non-concentrated selections for various fields of study must identify their interest in participating in the non-concentrated selection of each related field of study (fields identified with asterisks), in accordance with the regulations for the fields mentioned in Section 3 of Booklet No 3 (guide to the selection of fields of study) and instructions stated in Section 3 of Booklet No 4.



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### Important Reminders

1. Since the fields of study form will be read by a machine, carefully avoid smudging, folding or putting any sort of mark on the form (except where indicated).
2. The numbered codes for the fields of study must be carefully marked in the proper place. The proper square under each number must be evenly blackened with a soft, dark pencil. If the numbered square marked differs from the desired field of study, the machine will read the darkened square, and no complaint will be accepted.
3. Once the forms have been submitted, the codes for the selected fields marked on the chart for the field of study selection form cannot be altered or exchanged.
4. The codes for the fields of study and the squares below each number must be completed with a soft, black pencil only. Make sure to use a notebook or cardboard to place the form on.
5. If the square on the top of the form for the selection of fields of study is written on or otherwise marked, all fields of study of the applicants will be discarded.

### D. Selection of Fields of Study

Each applicant must take the following steps in selecting his fields of study.

1. Each applicant must choose his fields by looking at the charts for the fields of study according to the location and the test group and arrange the codes for the selected fields according to the interest he has in studying those fields.
2. He must look carefully at the chart which includes his field of interest and all regulations and requirements under the chart as well as the guide for the student selection examination for universities and institutions of higher learning in the 1365-66 [1986-87] academic year (Booklet No 1), the guide to fields of education selection (Booklet No 3), and the second section of this booklet (Booklet No 4).
3. He must evaluate his position with consideration for the regulations, requirements and information concerning each and every selected field of study in the related test group.
4. Through a careful study of the fourth section of this booklet, he should obtain the necessary information concerning his selected fields of interest.
5. He should take into consideration the location, educational resources and living conditions regarding the selected fields.

6. After acquiring the grade sheet, taking into consideration the results of the general and specialized examinations, his rank in each subject, as well as the ratio of one-third for the general examination grade and two-thirds for the specialized examination grade in the fields of study below the test groups, he should select and organize his selected fields according to his interests in continuing his education.

7. He should then complete the form for the fields of study selection, which has been provided for this purpose on page 18 of this booklet, and after the sample has been correctly completed, he should then complete the original form.

8. He should keep the sample (draft) form for fields of study selection and submit the original and the field of study selection form, without any marks, folds or damage, to the proper official at the same location from where he received the report card, in accordance with the timetable to be announced subsequently.

9. If he finds a discrepancy in the documents which have been sent regarding the content of paragraph 1 (applicants' personal data) or paragraphs 6, 7, 8 and 9 included in the report card, he should make a photocopy of the grade sheet, mark the items with a red ballpoint pen, and submit the grade sheet to the grade sheet distribution official. He should then have the original grade sheet sealed once again. It should be mentioned that investigations concerning complaints will be carried out on the basis of the photocopy of the applicant's grade sheet, case by case. Those who do not submit their complaints regarding the content mentioned within the appointed deadline will have no right to any complaints later.

In regards to the fields of study selection, this booklet emphasizes:

1. Selection of fields on the fields of study selection forms of any test but that of the test group in which the applicant has taken the examination is void.

2. If the code of the field of study on the fields of study selection form (marked in the squares for each number) is filled out by mistake or is light in color, that field cannot be identified and counted.

3. No request for changes, decreases or increases in the selected fields will, by any means, be accepted after the fields of study selection forms have been submitted.

4. Not only will repeating the numbers of one of the selected fields on the field of study selection form not increase the applicant's chances for admission to that field, but it will decrease his chances in the permitted selections in proportion to the number of times it has been repeated.

5. As stated earlier, in some fields of study (identified with asterisks), selections are made in a non-concentrated form. Therefore, such a field or



fields mentioned (with asterisks) will not be considered as one of the 14 selections.

Since, in accordance with the regulations of the selection examination for this year for fields of study, various test groups (except fields identified with an asterisk \*, in which student selection takes place in the non-concentrated manner) calculate the total grade of the applicants on the basis of one-third of the total grade for the general examination and two-thirds of the total grade for the specialized examination, with consideration for the priority of the total grade and the relative capacity allocated to each (in accordance with chart No 1), selections will be made in the selected fields and the finalists determined. Hence, in order to inform the applicants of their relative success in selecting fields of education, the following guidelines are recommended so that each applicant can increase his relative chances for success in selecting his educational field of interest.

Also, every applicant, with consideration for the regulations mentioned earlier, by reviewing the charts for "fields of study separated by location of school and test group," should select all of his fields of interest while observing the special regulations of the fields, with consideration for the results of the general and special examination on the report card and with sufficient information in regards to identifying the field and arranging the codes of his selected fields in order of his interest in continuing his education in those fields.

Also, in order to gain relative success in the selected fields, it is necessary for the applicant to examine his position with consideration for his general ranking, based on one-third of the total grade for the general examination and two-thirds of the grade for the special examination, and give consideration to the student admission capacity chart for various fields of study, separated by test group and admission allocation.

Percentage of Participants in Each Test Group of the Student Selection Examination in the 1365-66 [1986-87] Academic Year

| Share                                       | Zone<br>1 | Zone<br>2 | Zone<br>3 | Zone<br>4 | Zone<br>5 | Self-<br>Sacrificers | Martyr<br>Families | Com-<br>ba-<br>tants | Liter-<br>acy<br>Corps<br>& Holy<br>War<br>Comba-<br>tants | Grants<br>for<br>the<br>Oppres-<br>sed<br>Areas* | Total |
|---|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|----------------------|--------------------|----------------------|--|--|-------|
| Mathematical<br>and Techni-<br>cal Sciences | 35.0      | 16.6      | 11.5      | 4.1       | 2.6       | 1.6                  | 4.2                | 12.8                 | 1.6  | 10.0   | 100   |
| Experimental<br>Sciences                    | 34.2      | 18.8      | 14.3      | 5.3       | 3.0       | 1.0                  | 3.8                | 8.2                  | 1.4  | 10.0   | 100   |
| Humanities                                  | 25.4      | 20.0      | 15.7      | 6.7       | 4.0       | 1.2                  | 4.6                | 10.8                 | 1.6  | 10.0   | 100   |

|     |      |      |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |      |     |
|-----|------|------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|------|-----|
| Art | 52.8 | 14.8 | 8.1 | 2.5 | 1.6 | 1.0 | 3.4 | 5.0 | 0.8 | 10.0 | 100 |
|-----|------|------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|------|-----|

\*Percentages mentioned in the column of the grants for the oppressed areas are deducted from the share of Zone 1. Of course, the applicants of Zone 1 who are interested in making use of the grants of the oppressed areas, in addition to the share in the column of Zone 1, will also be selected in the share of the grants for the oppressed areas as well.

10,000

CSO: 4640/467

FOUNDATION FOR OPPRESSED DISCUSSES POSSESSIONS, DEBTS

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 3 Aug 86 p 2

[Interview with Deputy Prime Minister and Director of the Foundation for the Oppressed Mazaheri by KEYHAN in Zahedan; date not specified]

[Text] Zahedan, KEYHAN correspondent. The situation of the companies in debt for amortized and banking debts, properties, factories, lands and real estate of the Foundation for the Oppressed was announced by the director of this institution in an interview with KEYHAN.

Mazaheri, the deputy prime minister and director of the Foundation for the Oppressed, who had traveled to Zahedan to participate in the seminar on the mineral and geological potential of Sistan and Baluchestan Province and to investigate the problems and difficulties of the Foundation for the Oppressed in that province, responded to the questions asked by the KEYHAN correspondent.

In regards to the debts of the companies of the Foundation for the Oppressed, he said:

Companies with debts that belong to the Foundation for the Oppressed are paying their debts. In this connection, we have had discussions with banks which we have created so that they will make debt installments and receive them from the annual revenues of the companies.

If this is not possible, they will take the property which is the subject of the debt from the company or factory for their debts owed them, and in some cases this has achieved results.

Then, concerning the procedure for the sale of the properties, real estate and factories of the Foundation, he said: In regards to the sale of the properties and real estate of the Foundation, after being announced in the newspapers, they will be offered for sale under the supervision of the provinces, at price determined by experts, with a series of conditions and facilities. We receive a maximum of 50 percent of the price in five-year installments, so that buyers will be able to purchase them and will use the money to invest in the Foundation.

In regards to the activities of the Foundation in the area of exports, Mazaheri said: With the help of the deputy director for international affairs of the Foundation, we have created several export companies. Last year, we had about \$6 million in exports and this year we hope this figure will reach more than \$50 million. The products that we export consist of two parts. One part includes the products of the agricultural and production factories and units of the Foundation, and another part includes the products of other production units.

In regards to the efforts to offer the products of the Foundation at reduced prices, the deputy prime minister said: The Foundation offers for sale all of its goods at prices determined and announced by the government. In regards to goods that are offered by the Foundation at a significantly lower rate, we can see very well the effect on reducing prices. For instance, while the Foundation distributed apples in containers, the price did not exceed 180-200 rials per kilo, and the day that the Foundation apples finished, the price increased.

He added: The Foundation has not only made new investments in the industries sector, it has also invested in agriculture and housing. By investing in the housing sector, we have been able to create a movement in the mass production of housing by building several housing complexes.

He added: We have two large investments in our programs. One is the exploitation of the forests. With the agreement of the Ministry of Agriculture, we will operate an area of 90,000 hectares, which will require 10 billion rials in investments within a period of 10 years. These investments will provide a major portion of the lumber in the country.

Also, the creation of a number of large industrial dairy farms, which will have a positive effect on the production of milk and dairy products in the country, and several other large industries, which will produce essential and basic goods for the country, are among the tasks under way by the Foundation for the Oppressed.

In this connection, he added: In Ilam Province, a 2,000-ton cement factory will be built, and the Foundation will undertake the operation of industrial units. The products of these industries consist of essential, basic goods for the country. Considering the volume of investments required for these units, under the present conditions, the private sector is not prepared to invest in those areas.

In conclusion, concerning the profit making or losses of the properties and holdings of the Foundation for the Oppressed, he said: Essentially, property will not suffer losses but will bring profit, provided they are well operated and managed and their problems are solved. Therefore, the properties of the Foundation do not bring losses, they bring profits. At the present, the profits are in the form of returns on investments or production and the supplying of goods and being able to run its own economic wheels.



PEOPLE TO COOPERATE IN CONSTRUCTION OF MAJOR HIGHWAY

Tehran JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI in Persian 7 Aug 86 p 12

[Interview with Governor General of Esfahan Karbaschi by press in Esfahan; date not specified]

[Text] Esfahan, JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI correspondent. Mr Karbaschi, the governor general of Esfahan, responded to the questions of media reporters in a press, radio and television interview in the areas of agriculture, land and water, the war support headquarters, hoarding and ways to fight hoarders, the non-petroleum exports of the province, fighting narcotics smuggling, and bureaucratic corruption.

First, concerning the agricultural changes in the province since the victory of the revolution, he said: Fortunately, because of the potential of the soil and the committed manpower, agriculture in this province has been able to take effective measures since the victory of the revolution, among which mention can be made of the revitalization of more than 4,000 hectares of the barren lands in the deserts of the province, with the digging of 200 wells by the Ardestan agricultural cooperative company. Referring to the agricultural lands and the shortage of water in this province, the governor general of Esfahan said: At the present, we have more than 100,000 hectares of good, arable land, which remains barren because of the water shortage.

Presenting statistics concerning the water increase in this province, he said: Before the revolution, some projects were implemented to transmit water from the Karun to Kuhrang and the source of the Zayandehrud, which, with the transmission of 200 million cubic meters of water from the Karun to the source of the Zayandehrud, involves a budget of 10 billion rials and a period of 10 years. This project has not yet been completed and if we want to provide water for the province through other projects, we need 70 years and a very heavy funding. In regards to the present conditions, the governor general of Esfahan said: We cannot recommend advanced drip and sprinkling irrigation systems and conservation and cement in the rivers to prevent water waste and, in fact, produce 200 million cubic meters of water. Fortunately, with the cooperation of the Crusade and the Department of Agriculture, a series of efforts have been made. Concerning the war support headquarters in the province, the governor general of Esfahan said: A headquarters called the management and coordination headquarters has been established, the main job of

which is to identify the existing resources in the private and government sectors and to mobilize them to support the fronts. In this headquarters, useful efforts are made in various areas to dispatch forces, eliminate the problems of the combatants in the cities, attract the people's assistance, and help with the war and front propaganda. Concerning the absorption of 5 percent of the bureaucratic forces, he said: Work has been done in various divisions to make maximal use of the various experts in the departments and different guilds. For example, the establishment of the Guards Corps machinery and vehicle repair shop can be mentioned, for which a large piece of land has been taken over. With the cooperation of the repair shop guild and departmental experts, the damaged Guards Corps machinery and vehicles will be repaired and dispatched to the fronts once again. In regards to non-petroleum exports and the problems in this area, the governor general of Esfahan said: After two years of efforts, we have been able to establish the office of export development in this province, and two weeks ago, the Cabinet granted permission to export directly from Esfahan Province handicrafts and goods that will cause no problems for the province. When work begins, the center for export development will evaluate and rate all exportable goods here and many problems will be resolved. The Esfahan customs office has also received certain instructions, and, God willing, it will actively deal with the issue of exports. In regards to the activities of the city halls of the Province, the governor general of Esfahan said: This province has 48 city halls, which offer urban services for more than 2 million people. He added: The city hall spent 20 billion rials in 1364 [21 March 1985-20 March 1986], of which only 1 billion rials was given by the government; the remainder has been provided by the people. Praising the work of the city halls and the cooperation of the people, the governor general of Esfahan said: Last year, the 10-billion rial developmental services of the city halls had an implemental cost of the same amount. This shows the participation of the people in the city halls, and we suggested to the government that, considering the implementation of this project of the Islamic councils, the members of the city halls certainly be elected by the people and the city halls given more authority to lighten the heavy burden of bureaucratic expenditures from the shoulders of the government, with the participation of the people. In response to the question of our correspondent concerning the recent ratification of the Majlis and the method of dealing with hoarders, the governor general of Esfahan said: In the same way that Islam deals with various social and moral problems--it deals with the reasons and eliminates the roots and incentives of corruption--in the area of hoarding, too, the incentives must be identified and essentially dealt with. We must see what the means of hoarding include, and if we consider hoarding a great sin today, we must take the means of hoarding away from the hoarder. One of the means of hoarding is the cash flow available to the private sector. Under the present conditions, according to the statistics, 9,000 billion rials in cash is at the disposal of the people. Naturally, those who have a great deal of money want to increase their accumulation. In our present society, we see, on the one hand, that such sacrificers give their lives on the fronts, while their families are in need of bread every night. On the other hand, there are those who have made 250 million rials in profit only in rice deals. In our opinion, first, the situation of investments must be clarified in the society. And narrow-mindedness must be set aside and efforts made to absorb the capital and cash flow in the society towards

investments in various agricultural, industrial and production sectors. In this regard, in any way possible, the situation with regard to lands must be resolved, because before this problem is resolved, the issue of investments will not be clarified. Another issue is that the representatives of the Majlis must clarify the various dimensions of hoarding for the judicial branch. If they consider hoarding a threat to the revolution, it must be dealt with seriously. Even though the new bill may be a good bill for the society under normal conditions, the representatives must bear in mind that we are under very sensitive war conditions. If we consider hoarding a threat to the revolution and Islam, we should pay attention to the secondary issues and, by noting the dangerous grounds for hoarding, deal with the hoarders. But if, in any case, this bill reaches final ratification and becomes a law, it will be respected by everyone. In regards to his presence at the Cabinet several weeks ago, the governor general of Esfahan said: In connection with the investments in the province and planning of Esfahan Province, it was decided in that, God willing, soon the Esfahan-Kashan Tehran highway project would be under way, with the cooperation and participation of the banks. Also, in connection with fighting bureaucratic corruption, improper veiling in the cities, and smuggling, he mentioned some problems and said: God willing, soon the Islamic revolution committee in Esfahan will begin work, and with the efforts of the brothers in the Committee and the support of the Hezbollah people of Esfahan, moral corruption and smuggling will be seriously dealt with.

10,000

CSO: 4640/475

DISSOCIATION FROM U.S. POLICY ON AFGHANISTAN URGED

Karachi AMN in Urdu 4 Aug 86 p 2

[Column "From Jumma Khan's Pen:" "Muslims, Not Americans, Are Dying in Afghanistan"]

[Excerpt] The guerrilla war in Afghanistan is now becoming a threat to the security of Pakistan. The trouble is no longer confined to the borders alone; according to the Pakistani Government, Afghan activists have entered Pakistan and are busy carrying out activities that are harmful to our life and property. This means that Afghanistan is escalating its pressure on Pakistan. On the other hand, Soviet leader Gorbachev has ordered the withdrawal of six Soviet regiments from Afghanistan, which means that the Soviet leadership now has confidence in Afghans. It says that if the Afghan guerrillas want peace then the rest of the Soviet troops will be withdrawn as soon as possible. But the United States does not want the Soviet troops to leave Afghanistan. Maulvi Yunus, the Afghan guerrilla leader, says that his forces want to continue the jihad. The United States has promised to give the Afghan commandos more sophisticated weapons.

So the war will continue even after some Soviet troops have left. If the war escalates, there will be more attacks on Pakistani borders, the subversion by Afghan activists will increase, and we will have to bear greater loss of life and property. It is in our own interest to stop playing America's game and think of our own security. We should remember that if there is no prospect for peace in Afghanistan, the blood of Muslims will be shed on both sides. Muslims will die, whether by weapons supplied by the United States or by the Soviets. Afghanistan is our Muslim neighbor. It is worthy of us to bleed it to death and reduce the country to ruin? If the war does not stop, how can the Afghan refugees leave our country?

If the Pakistani government does not stop the activities of the Afghan mujahidin and if it allows them to use our country for their own purposes, we will have to pay very heavily. We should remember that in this war only Pakistanis and Afghans are dying. No American has died in any skirmish. The United States, because of its deep-rooted anti-Muslim policies, is at its old game of making Muslims kill Muslims. It is doing this in the Middle East by making Iran fight against Iraq. The United States does not want Muslim countries to be at peace with each other. It wants to keep them at each other's throats, because it is afraid of their united strength. If only we could see through the anti-Muslim policies of the United States of America!

12476/13045

CSO: 4656/133



POSSIBILITY OF RECOGNITION OF ISRAEL DISCUSSED

Karachi AMN in Urdu 25 Jul 86 p 2

[Column "From Jumma Khan's Pen"]

[Excerpt] Not long ago President Ziaul Haq, in an interview given to a foreign news agency, advised the Arab countries to recognize Israel and to send a representative to ask that country exactly what it wants. That part of his interview was not published in Pakistan, so no one knew about it. But when reporters told Mian Tufail Mohammad, leader of Jamat-i-Islamic, about this and asked him to comment, he replied: "General Zia is right. Israel is a fact, and the strongest power in the Middle East. There is no harm in recognizing a fact." In a column I reported Mian Tufail Mohammad's comment and I asked why, if Israel should be recognized because it is powerful, we should not recognize the Afghan regime which is being protected by the troops of a superpower.

Some time after Zia's interview, King Hassan of Morocco, after consulting King Fahd of Saudi Arabia and King Husayn of Jordan, invited the Israeli prime minister to visit his country. It is possible that he invited him to ask him the question that President Zia had suggested: "What do you want from the world of Islam?"

Everybody knows that General Zia is a personal friend of King Fahd and of King Husayn. He was a staunch friend of President Anwar as-Sadat, and he is also on good terms with the present president, Husni Mubarak. He often meets King Hassan. Pakistan played a key role in getting Egypt reinstated as a member of the Islamic Conference. What needs clarification amidst all this is to ascertain the policy of the Junejo government (and the Muslim League) regarding Israel. If they agree with General Zia, then the Pakistan Government may announce recognition of Israel at any moment. No one should be surprised at this. But the question is: Will the people of Pakistan accept the government's decision in this case? In particular, how will the religious parties react to it?

12476/6662

CSO: 4656/129

POLITICAL, SOCIAL SITUATIONS IN SIND EXAMINED

Seen As Possible Excuse for Martial Law

Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 22 Jul 86 p 3

[Article by Abdul Karim Abid: "An Analysis of Sind's Political Situation"]

[Text] Is Sind being pushed toward confusion and civil war in order to justify the reimposition of martial law? What would be the consequence of politics on the basis of the lawlessness created by the dacoits; the bloody and deadly conflict between the youths of the Jiye Sind and the People's Students Federation in the area of Sanghardh; the demonstration on the roads by the Hur force of Pir Pagara; the agitational way in which Zia politics opposes the People's Party; on a linguistic basis, the spread of Sindi, Punjabi, refugee and Pukhtun prejudices; and the sectarian hatred in the city of Karachi? The gunpowder that has been strewn on the ground in Sind only awaits a spark to start explosions. Perhaps, they have already commenced. Nevertheless, the interest of Sind does not lie in disturbance, disorder and rioting. Such a situation only benefits that element which wishes to prove that peace and progress is impossible with democracy, provincial independence and political freedom according to such thinking, in the circumstances facing a country such as Pakistan, and especially for a province such as Sind, generally there is a need for strict government. Because in this region, the meaning of democracy is that the standardbearers of turmoil, disruption, bigotry, nonpatriotism, hatred and violence should be granted full freedom to do anything they like. Allegedly, instead of getting lost in the bright perceptions of democracy, in order to combat this situation, one should, keeping the facts in view, agree to the need for military or semimilitary rule. Otherwise, under the passion of democracy, Pakistan would definitely come to nought, in Sind if not elsewhere.

The antidemocratic manner of thinking that has been dominant in Pakistan up to now, and that is desired for the future by some, is encouraging every type of disruptionist element in Sind, so that they can display their work and then they may get an opportunity to perform their task. The people of Sind have not seen through this trick, and they have not foiled it. The situation in Sind, therefore, will affect both Sind and Pakistan. The journey of democracy that has been commenced will end at the destination of a new martial law. The entire force of this martial law will be aimed at Sind, and it will be a dark day for the destiny of Sind.

The real problem facing the elements that desire to rule under the might of military strength is that for a long time the army, on whose basis martial law and rule is enforced, has been the victim of restlessness and the stirring of conscience. The army has had to face taunts from both friends and foes. Whether Sindi or Punjabi, Baluchi or Pukhtun, everyone is openly expressing disgust. The disgrace is increasing day by day. This situation has led to a crisis of conscience among the military, who have been accustomed always to carry out orders without question or understanding. The military has begun to wonder why, after all, they should intervene in politics, why they should continue to enforce martial law, why they should be utilized to impede the path of democracy. In response to these questions, the ruling sector wishes to prove with the new political power that has been imposed that democracy and Pakistan cannot go hand in hand, that we will have to choose between them. According to this thinking, the experiment of democracy has already been tried, and it has only given prominence to anti-Pakistan powers. Allegedly, it has demonstrated that the oppressive and dictatorial method of government adopted so far is the right one and instead of having any doubt as to the effectiveness of this method, feeling any apprehension in this regard, experiencing any shame or offering apology for it, by enforcing the oppressive and dictatorial system with full faith, confidence and strength, the undesirable elements should be extirpated.

In view of this background, it would be highly unfortunate and destructive for the country if we were to go astray after imbibing the two sips of democratic politics, rights and freedoms that we have taken and act like drunkards. In Sind, in particular, we must prove our capability and demonstrate that the goblet of democracy that is being passed around will be handled with dexterity. There should be no mutual bid to grab up everything, nor should there be selfish scrambling. We should fully comprehend the fact that all the hopes of those who desire the reimposition of martial law are bound up with Sind alone. In Sind alone lies a large portion of their sinister gains, which they wish to safeguard through martial law. If there is no martial law, then, with the collaboration of the so-called politicians, under whose cover they can operate a dictatorial type of regime, they desire to have a so-called "democratic" system.

The amount and type of democracy that exists in Pakistan today is not final and certain. It does not possess any past traditions, nor does it provide any future satisfaction and assurance. Its present state appears defective and weak. Nevertheless, all prodemocratic forces in the country agree that a path to a better democracy in the future should be devised through the current, deficient democracy. We should not indulge in any act whereby we neither acquire the whole thing nor give up half of it. However, against the prodemocratic elements, the antidemocratic elements are trying in every way to insure that no democratic experiment is successful in this country. Their strategy is to create whatever obstacles or defects they can in order to destroy this experiment, and this policy is being carried out.

The antidemocratic forces of the country are divided into two camps. One camp is comprised of the ruling sector that exploits individuals. It is busy devising plans and carrying them out. The other camp is that of the anti-Pakistan elements who believe that if there is democracy in this country, they would not have the opportunity to promote their ideologies and intentions.

These two camps, although entirely different in nature, nevertheless, due to their common objective of sabotaging democracy, enjoy good relations and co-operation. The leaders of the two camps meet together and toast each other. On the administrative level, there is also a strong connection among the members of these two camps.

The antidemocratic camp of the ruling sector wishes to prove that:

1. With democracy, the industrial development of the country is put in jeopardy, and industrially the country is pushed backward.
2. In democracy, there is a danger of the anti-Pakistan elements gaining prominence. The communists, foreign agents or standardbearers of linguistic and regional prejudices benefit from this, while Pakistan and the pro-Pakistan elements are at a loss.
3. In a democracy, the professionally criminal elements gain new strength. Dacoits grow powerful. Cultivators of opium acquire political support. Sellers of intoxicating drugs, abductors of human beings and cattle, smugglers, etc., become active in politics or else take refuge with political leaders and parties.
4. The national administration loses its control and status. Rules and regulations are broken for the sake of political expediency. Officers and public servants are used for political goals; they are unable to withstand the illegitimate pressure exerted on them to carry out illegal tasks. In other words, democracy and a pure and clean administration are two different things.

Aside from the ruling elements, the manner of thinking or reasoning of the anti-democratic camp belonging to the anti-Pakistan elements is:

1. We Sindis, Pukhtuns or Baluchis are proponents of nationalism. Our goal is total freedom. Democracy means government of the majority. Since Sindis, Pakhtuns and Baluchis are in the minority, therefore, in proportion to the population, according to the logic of democracy, the Punjabis would be the dominant power. The dominant power would hold sway everywhere--in the federal assembly, the federal army, in federal jobs and in power and resources. Therefore, as proponents of nationalism, we want to have our own separate region with complete autonomy, and this cannot be achieved under democracy.
2. We communists wish to drive Pakistan into the orbit of the Soviet system. But if there is democracy here, the people would not like to relinquish the system of political freedom and turn toward such a system where they would not have freedom of thought and action. Therefore, in the communist interest, it is essential that the people here remain protected from the system of freedom and fundamental rights. Otherwise, considering this poison as the water of life, they would never be prepared to relinquish it, and a communist system could not be established. With the democratic process, the petty-bourgeoisie and the bourgeoisie would gain control and block the path of communism.



3. We in the wealthy and noble sector hold the top ranks in the civil service of the country. Our dominant, superior status can remain safeguarded under a system of dictatorship. In a democratic system, our authority certainly cannot be exercised, nor can our throne of power survive. Such a system fosters a regime of illiterate people and irresponsible politicians.
4. On the basis of religious and Islamic law, we are in the minority. The power we hold in a dictatorial type of government cannot be attained in a democratic regime. Therefore, we should oppose democracy or else try to lay the foundation for the existence of Pakistan on a non-Islamic ideological basis instead of that of Islam, because our religious minority faces danger in Islamic Pakistan. Also, on the basis of a non-Islamic ideology, a new Pakistan can only be established using dictatorial methods and philosophies, and not by democratic methods.

These views against democracy of the ruling extortionist sector and anti-Pakistan elements have in common the value of dictatorship and the maintenance of enmity toward democracy. G.M. Sayed is a simple and truthful person. Thus, he clearly states that he is in favor of dictatorship, because he thinks democracy would dismantle Pakistan. But other Sindis, Baluchis and Pukhtuns, in their respective national tongues, shout slogans for Pakistan, Pakistan, but they conceal knives under their armpits to attack democracy. They secretly work to strengthen dictatorship, so that democracy does not exist and so that the opportunity to implement the plan they support with enthusiasm will not slip from their grasp. The desire and effort of these enemies of democracy is aimed to the presence of dictatorship and at cutting off the roots of patriotism. Then, with the support of a foreign army, they could establish their desired country or a state of their own liking.

In light of this analysis, we can easily comprehend why the real, true Islam- and Pakistan-loving people in every era have become the object of displeasure to dictators and why the dictatorial regimes were kind to the communists, to the worshippers of regional and linguistic nationalities, to the Qadianis or the enemies of the majority, and to the rebellious elements of the ideology of Pakistan, and how the regimes and such elements supported each other.

The situation is the same today. The intention of both these camps is to make democracy unsuccessful and to prevent democracy and democracy-loving parties from moving forward. For this purpose, the number of joint actions they have undertaken has greatly increased. They openly strengthen each other. The ruling sector believes that by bringing forward these anti-Pakistan elements, a situation would be achieved whereby democracy would acquire such a form that everyone would implore, "God help us." Then, by defeating all opponents, all opposition would be wiped out, and the ruling sector would rule as it pleased. On the other hand, the anti-Pakistan elements believe that when it would become difficult for democracy to work and dictatorship alone would become the destiny of Pakistan, then they would be able to thrive on disruptive activities and guerrilla wars. Because of these dictatorships, the provisions for breaking up Pakistan would come into existence and their hearty wish would be fulfilled. In opposition to these two camps, however, there is also the camp of the Pakistani people. They are observing everything and comprehending what is

happening. The days are gone when the people were not aware of anything. They used to believe whatever was said. Now, neither is Punjab prepared to trust the military rulers or dictators, nor do the smaller provinces, by being misled or instigated by those favoring separation, wish to see democracy destroyed. Despite this public consciousness, however, the politicians, political workers and political parties will have to do a lot more work in order to protect the people from dissension and hatred-creating talk. Because the other side is constantly playing its game. If the politicians and the political parties do not engender a forceful wave of unity and brotherhood among the people instead of dissension, then those trying to sabotage democracy could be successful in their aim. In this matter, in particular, the position of Sind right now is that of a pathway to paradise. In order to reach the destination of democracy, it is essential to pass through and cross safely this extremely narrow bridge of Sind. Otherwise, there will not be democracy in either Pakistan or Sind. Everything will be burned to ashes.

#### Crime, Drug Situations Examined

Karachi AMN in Urdu 25 Jul 86 p 2

[Editorial]

[Text] Salman Khaliq started a campaign against crime and drugs as soon as he took over as inspector general of police in Sind. He seems to be well aware of the gravity of the crime and drug situation in the province and of the lack of success of the police in trying to cope with it. His first attack was against those who sell and those who use drugs. Drugs, he says, have led to an increase in crime and have brought ruin to many families. The new chief of police has started a full-fledged campaign under a new policy to stamp out drugs, abductions and a dacoity in Sind. He is determined to be merciless against the drug dealers. This challenging goal cannot be achieved without the cooperation of the people, on the one hand, and of influential individuals, on the other. How is he going to achieve the cooperation of these powerful men, most of whom are involved in the manufacture and sale of such deadly drugs as heroin and who protect the drug traffickers from the law-enforcement authorities? It is yet to be seen how he will bring these influential people to their knees; it is not easy to catch such important people, who are poisoning the rising generation by making them drug addicts. These people, who are not only encouraging poppy cultivation but have erected factories to refine it into heroin, are the real culprits. All of the previous antidrug campaigns have been defeated due to the influence of these potentates. If the new police inspector general is to be successful he will have to be dauntless and to remain alert at all times. First of all, he must stop the inflow of dangerous drugs and ammunition from outside the country. In Sind, the antisocial elements are so powerful because highly sophisticated weapons are so easily obtainable in the province. It is not enough to confiscate Kalashnikovs, because now matters have gone beyond guns.

Now the antisocial elements and their patrons possess the latest automatic weapons and rocket-launchers. The Kalashnikov that cost 30,000 rupees in the past can now be purchased for 15,000 rupees. That is why our first priority should be to stop the import of these weapons. Salman Khaliq must

recognize that police officers are involved in this crime. They accept large bribes from smugglers and allow truckloads of weapons and narcotics to enter the province. Mr Khaliq must first spot the black sheep in his own department.

The courageous statement of the new inspector general that no one will be indicted on account of his political views is very reassuring. Democracy, he said, has been restored, and differences in political views are allowed in a democracy. We are sure his heartwarming promise will soon materialize. His words should be noted by those at the helm, who imprison people without trial on the basis of political differences and then have the effrontery to declare before the world that there are no political prisoners in Pakistan.

#### Landowners Cooperation Urged

Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 29 Jul 86 p 4

[Editorial: "Don't Call the Troops"]

[Excerpt] Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, a PPP leader and former chief minister of Sind, has said that if the army has to be called in to Sind to restore law and order, it should be called at once. The situation in Sind has long been unsatisfactory. The activities of robbers have caused a reign of terror in the central part of the province. For certain social and political reasons, the efforts of the government to curb the robbers have not produced the desired results. Informed sources declare openly that some powerful people in the province are aiding and protecting the robbers. Mr Jatoi's demand for the intervention of the army shows that the situation is very grave. But he does not seem to remember that he and other big landowners in the province have an obligation to their homeland. He has great influence in Sind because of his patriotism and moderate views. Everybody knows that he has very friendly relations with all of the influential families in Sind. So far, he has used this influence only to strengthen his own group and to criticize the policies of the rulers. Now, since Mr Jatoi has realized that the situation in Sind is grave enough to require the help of the army, he should relinquish narrow provincialism and rise to the heights of a true patriot. He should use his influence to persuade the other prestigious leaders of Sindhi tribes to stop helping the dacoits. Politics does not consist in finding fault with the policies of the government; its essence lies in the service of the people. This means that the government as well as the opposition should play their appropriate roles. Both should fulfill their duties without waiting for someone to appeal to them. If Mr Jatoi were to succeed in persuading these big clans to be truly patriotic and to stop protecting the antisocial elements in the province, there would be no further need to call in the troops to stamp out a dacoity, and no one would be able to say that the influential men of Sind are partners of the robbers and cattle thieves of the province.

## 'Contradictory' Government Statements

Karachi AMN in Urdu 4 Aug 86 p 2

[Editorial: "Why Such Contradictions?"]

[Text] Syed Ghaus Ali Shah, chief minister of Sind, said while talking to journalists from the Northwest Frontier Province that although the crime rate in Sind had increased after the lifting of martial law, the incidence has now come down. "There are very few cases of dacoity," he said, "and there is no danger to public safety."

But the truth is that during the month of July alone, there were 16 murders in Sind, bandits abducted a dozen persons (with a view to demanding very high ransom money), and there were two dozen cases of robbery. The chief minister, after flying over the districts of Sukkar, Shikarpur, Jackobabad and Dadu in a helicopter, told the Northwest Frontier Province journalists, "All is well regarding the law and order situation in Sind. The cause of dacoity is to be found in the history and geography of the province, not only in unemployment."

Just a day after this statement was made by the chief minister, Prime Minister Mohammad Khan Junejo said in Karachi at a high-level meeting attended by ministers, governors and the chief minister himself that the crime rate had dangerously escalated in Sind. It was decided that a full-fledged campaign should be undertaken to curb the activities of dacoits, and that steps should be taken to save people from the fear and harassment by the bandits. It was decided that in order to exterminate the dacoits completely, attacks would be made on their hideouts in the jungles of central Sind by land and air. The prime minister called the dacoits a challenge to the provincial administration and gave directions for starting an operation in central Sind to wipe out the bandits completely by 14 August. The federal government, he said, would cooperate with the provincial government through all the means at its disposal.

Is it not strange that one day the chief minister should tell journalists from the Northwest Frontier Province that all is well in Sind, and that the next day in his presence, the prime minister should describe the situation as dangerous and call for quick and effective action to control it? Do not these contradictory statements show that the administration is helpless in the face of the lawlessness in the province? Whom is it trying to deceive? Who is fooled? Why does it not take the public into its confidence? Such contradictory statements only make matters worse. The administration should know that.

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# JATOI'S PLAN FOR NEW POLITICAL PARTY DISCUSSED

Karachi AMN in Urdu 3 Aug 86 p 2

[Column "From Jumma Kham's Pen:" "A Difficult Decision"]

[Excerpt] A new political party has recently been formed by Wali Khan through the merging of four political parties together. Another political party will be formed by Gulam Mustafa Jatoi by the end of this month. Wali Khan's party has applied for inclusion in the MRD, and veteran politician Nawabzada Nasrulla Khan says that the application will be accepted. It is not yet clear whether Mr Jatoi will want his party included in the MRD. He likes the MRD, has taken part in its struggles, and has always promised to cooperate with it. His party might join the MRD or it might make an alliance with a party outside the MRD. The only prominent party outside the MRD at present is the Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Islam. The other parties are either insignificant or progovernment.

Joining the MRD will help Jatoi's party to gain stature. If the MRD should be dissolved or become redundant at the time of elections, his party could join together with one of the other parties remaining from the MRD such as the Tehrik-i-Istiqlal. It will be at the time of the election or of an electoral alliance that it will be learned whether or not he has made a mistake in forming another party. Jatoi will have time to organize his party if the elections are delayed, but if they are held early, his party will not have time to gain much stature. It can only become effective by allying itself with other parties. It will succeed in getting representatives in the assemblies, but for it to achieve popularity in the entire country will require much more time, as Pakistan is a large country and reaching its farflung villages is not at all easy. There are times when a man has to make a difficult decision and stake his whole career in the process. Mr Jatoi has staked his whole political career on this decision. If he follows the principles of politics, he will be a winner. If he only thinks of political expediency, his party will never become popular. Having long been in the PPP, we are confident that his policy will not consist in defaming the PPP or its leadership. He has made his decision about leaving the People's Party, but being a good man and a former worker in the PPP, we cannot but pray that his party will not meet the end encountered by parties that left the PPP in the past.

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CONFLICT IN DUAL MEMBERSHIP IN LOCAL, OTHER BODIES EXAMINED

Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 3 Aug 86 p 3

[Editorial: "Flaw of Dual Membership in Local Bodies"]

[Text] At a meeting in Lahore under the chairmanship of the provincial minister for local and rural development, Chaudhri Parvez Ilahi (who himself is the chairman of the Gujrat district council), the chairmen of all 29 of the province's district councils decided to establish their own organization, called the "District Council Chairmen Coordination Committee of Punjab," which will hold meetings every 2 months. At these meetings, a working paper on the problems facing each district council is to be compiled and presented to the district government. At this founding meeting, among the issues identified as requiring special attention were complaints that, as a controlling authority, the divisional commissioner indulges in improper intervention in their affairs. The members of the national and provincial assemblies, too, were pointed out as guilty of such unlawful practice, because they have plans to utilize the large amount of funds entrusted to them for development and welfare purposes, amassed through officials of the local department, while keeping them secret from the district councils.

If these complaints are legitimate, the source must be nullified. However, the basic fact that was altogether ignored at this meeting was the very candid example of dual membership in various local bodies (district councils, corporations and municipal committees), involving some 150 to 175 persons. And some of them are also members of national or provincial assemblies. More than a dozen of them, along with being officials of a local body, are also members of the federal cabinet or a provincial ministry. In other words, among those making the complaints were some who were themselves the agents of these practices. At the meeting of the chairmen of district councils, if the negative implications of this dual membership on democratic procedures had also been pointed out and if emphasis had been placed on ending this practice, their complaints would not only have been considered more valid, but also their aim would have been viewed as selfless and sincere. Under the current circumstances, however, it does not appear improper to state that these gentlemen have in fact been concerned only with their own interests and power. The democratic demands and the permanent interests of the local bodies have not been kept realistically in view. This weakness, indeed selfishness, of theirs will remain protective with regard to their endeavor to reform as well.

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## MRD DEMAND FOR PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY CRITICIZED

Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 5 Aug 86 p 3

[Editorial: "The New Face of Confederation"]

[Text] There are two aspects to the decisions made at the very important 2-day convention of the MRD held in Lahore. First, the MRD has echoed the PPP demand for a deadline for holding elections. The only difference is that the PPP wants these elections held during the fall months of September and October, whereas the MRD has extended this date to 31 December. The PPP agrees with this new date, since the MRD demand includes announcement of an election schedule by 20 September. The PPP, however, still refers to the fall when talking about elections. When addressing a rally in Nawabshah the other day, Miss Benazir declared that the move to demand elections in the fall has shaken the government. The second demand of the Lahore convention is an effort to destroy the country's unity by calling for reinstatement of the provincial autonomy clause of the 1973 constitution. The PPP faction which has been raising slogans for confederation and is intent upon dividing the nation into four countries appears to have scored another win.

The report issued by Maulana Fazalur Rahman, central convenor, and Malik Mohammad Qasim, secretary general, demands provincial autonomy in all areas except for defense, foreign relations, communications and currency. In foreign trade the "federal entities" would be independent but would operate within the framework of the country's foreign policy and foreign trade guidelines. The federal government would not have any right to interfere in its entities (provinces). The provinces would be allowed to form civil armed forces for the protection of its citizens. The administrative structure of the armed forces would be changed. According to our sources, the Pakistan Democratic Party (PDP), Jamiat-ul-Ulema-e-Islam (JUI), and Tehrik-i-Istiqlal openly opposed these demands. Tehrik-i-Istiqlal is not satisfied about defense while granting provincial autonomy. The reason for the MRD to join the confederationists in demanding provincial autonomy is unclear. Mumtaz Bhutto and Abdul Hafiz Pirzada are also demanding the same rights and doing the same things. Why not include them in the MRD? The Awami National Party, a coalition of leftwing parties, raised the slogan, "four separate accounts for provinces, good relationship with the federal government," at its inception. The MRD stand just shows that the leftwing has won, even though Maulana Fazalur Rahman, convenor of the MRD and president of the JUI, claims to have joined the MRD in order to curb the influence of the left-wing parties. He was also the one to

announce that the central government should become an "orphan" while ideas to make the central government strong are being discussed. It is surprising that proposals to make the center an "orphan" are being put forward under this leadership. In this context, it is appropriate to quote the PPP press secretary's comment: "The MRD is doing exactly what we always wanted."

All this shows that the PPP and the MRD want to amend the 1973 constitution. This is the same MRD that wanted to reinstate the 1973 constitution. The PPP was also in the forefront to keep the 1973 constitution. Benazir Bhutto treated it as her only inheritance. According to the MRD guidelines, any party coming into power will make amendments to this constitution. Rasul Bax Palejo, secretary general of the Awami Tehrik, is happy at his success since he has "established the conceptual base of provincial autonomy in all parties; even the parties that do not agree with this concept have given their written approval." The distressing fact about the MRD is that it does not want the persons elected to the national legislative bodies by democratic process in 1985 to touch the constitution, but it believes that its members, who would never have won any election, have a birthright to play with this constitution! Both the MRD and the PPP have declared the 1973 constitution sacred. They have said that the whole nation agrees on this constitution, and that the sensitive issue of provincial rights is taken care of in it. Now these parties are competing to invent ways to maul the constitution. The PPP had warned that the country would disintegrate if this sacred constitution were even touched. The leaders of the Awami National Party considered this constitution to be a dead horse that could not be revived. Now these parties, with opposite views, are working together to tear up the constitution! Now, if the MRD believes that a constitutional amendment is unavoidable, then why not let the National Assembly, which is a more representative body than the MRD is, make these amendments? It must be acknowledged that the MRD is weakening our nation by raising the issue of provincial autonomy. It is supporting the concept of a confederation and helping those elements that have raised slogans demanding the division of Pakistan. We are saddened to see that patriotic leaders like Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan, Maulana Fazalur Rahman, Khawaja Khairuddin, Malik Qasim, and Asghar Khan have joined this game. For President Ziaul Haq to amend the constitution with the aid of a referendum is, of course, unacceptable. The MRD, however, is going to harm the country even more by demanding provincial autonomy. We do not oppose giving rights to the provinces, but these rights have already been given in the 1973 constitution. It is sad to say that even the Bhutto regime did not implement this constitution. What we need is implementation of this constitution, and not efforts to dismember our central government.

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MUSLIM LEAGUE CALLED TO ACCOUNT FOR CAMPUS VIOLENCE

Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 31 Jul 86 p 3

[Editorial: "Educational Institutions and Undesirable Elements"]

[Text] At a recent meeting of Sind University chancellors held under the chairmanship of the governor of Sind, an analysis was made of the educational institutions, and particularly the conditions that have developed at them since the holidays. The chief minister of Sind was also present at the meeting. On this occasion, the governor, who is also the chancellor of the universities of Sind, while stressing the need for a better educational environment in the educational institutions, said that it was the current administration's responsibility to maintain a healthy atmosphere for curricular and noncurricular activities. He told the chancellors of the universities that in order to achieve the aims of education, law and order should be maintained between the teachers and the students, and that the educational institutions should be kept free of undesirable, rowdy elements that destroy their peace and that are blocking the path to the prosperity of education. On this occasion, the chief minister also confessed that the standard of education was continuously slipping backward and that it was necessary to take measures to make the educational institutions cradles of knowledge. The chief minister put the responsibility for maintaining a better educational environment solely on the chancellors of the universities.

The situation existing in the educational institutions not only in Sind but in the entire country is known to everyone. Setting aside the standard of education for a moment, even the environment of the educational institutions is such that no seeker of knowledge can learn anything there. The students are provided with every facility for using sophisticated weapons and learning new techniques of hooliganism. The hostels of the educational institutions are serving as armories; whenever the law enforcement authorities go to them, they always recover explosive weapons. It appears that our youths turn to the educational institutions in order to reinforce their goals, and then they use them to experiment on their target. Thus, every other day there are shootings in the educational institutions, and one or another sturdy youth dies in his own blood. The administration, up to now, has been unable to control this situation. During the period of martial law, a new ordinance was tested whereby the student organizations and unions were held entirely to blame for the assassinations and plundering and a restriction was imposed on

them. But the strange tyranny was that the wall that was thus erected against the hooligan elements in the educational institutions was demolished by the hands of the administration itself. As a result, there was an evident increase in the number of youths murdered and the incidence of hooliganism in the educational institutions. The current administration also insists that the student organizations and unions are the cause of corruption of the educational environment. Even now, annulment of this decision is not under consideration, although the sooner incorrect decisions are reviewed, the better.

How sincere is the desire of our rulers to cleanse the educational institutions of offensive hooligan elements? This can be judged very well on the basis of an incident that occurred last Friday at the engineering university of Lahore. At the hostel, the Sir Sayed Hall, the police seized large quantities of arms and arrested six students. The surprising scene that met the eye, however, was that the youths who were arrested for possessing arms were moving about freely, even though four of them were not even students. There is only one thing to understand with regard to the immediate release of these students, and that is that one youth in this group was the son of a Muslim League member of the assembly. We believe that, on the contrary, relationship to a responsible member of the administration should have resulted in this youth and his companions receiving much more severe treatment. His parents should have proposed a punishment for him in order to straighten out his path for the future. In any case, what happened was that the criminals were freed, and those who protested against this injustice were taken into custody. We regret to say that with regard to this matter, the record of the ruling Muslim League in this brief incident is not praiseworthy. In Punjab Province in particular, the regime openly patronizes hooligans in the educational institutions; numerous examples of this have come to the fore. This course of action is a blot on the name of the administration itself. It must bear in mind at all times that a good reputation will last forever, but a government will not. Also, with a good reputation, the era of an administration can be prolonged. The consequence of patronizing hooligans and rouges was already witnessed during the previous administration.

It is a blessing that such official intervention and patronization has not yet spread to the other provinces. Nevertheless, the situation in the educational institutions of Sind Province is much more worrisome. Particularly in the interior of Sind, anti-Pakistan and anti-Islam elements are extremely active. They are already ruining the educational environment, and they are also crossing ideological frontiers; they are weakening the roots of territorial integrity. These elements are so rebellious and daring that neither the teachers nor the administrative body of the educational institutions can control them. In addition, they enjoy the support of those who have political influence. Therefore, responsibility for cleansing the educational institutions of hooligan elements cannot be thrust on a university chancellor or a principal alone. Unless the administration and the law-enforcement organs resolve that under all circumstances, the educational institutions must be cleansed of hooliganism, and that safeguarding the young generation is really a great investment for the nation, success cannot be achieved, no matter how many meetings are held. Whatever was said at the meeting under the

chairmanship of the governor of Sind and the intentions that were expressed therein, all this has taken place many times before. But what was the result? The governor and the chief minister themselves must be more knowledgeable than we are with regard to this matter. Measures are being taken right now to insure that "the educational institutions are not allowed to become an arena for political activities." However, isn't it a fact that the ruling Muslim League itself has landed into this arena and has turned the anchor? At any rate, in view of the personal interest in improving the situation at educational institutions demonstrated by the governor of Sind during the meeting, we hope that within Sind Province, at least, positive results will be achieved and that the situation will soon improve.

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